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The Church Quarterly Review

Edited by Philip Usher

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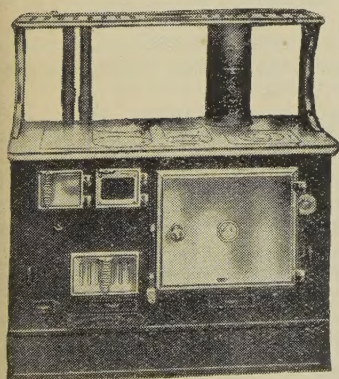
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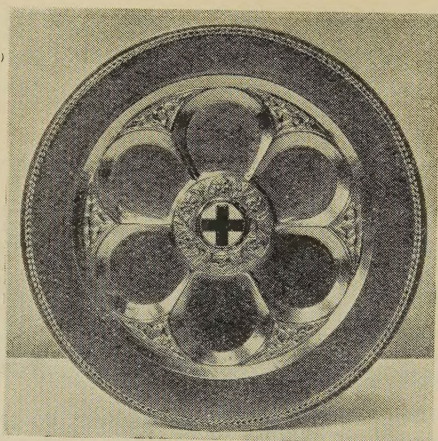
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ART. I.—THE DOCTRINE OF GOD.

(Continued)

[The following Article forms part of a work which will be published by the Clarendon Press, on *Christian Theology, The Doctrine of God.*]

I.

I PROPOSE to contrast the Christian doctrine of God as the explanation of our experience with various rival forms of belief.

We will begin with Deism. Deism as opposed to Theism is the technical name given to that belief which looks upon God as creator and first cause, but denies that he is in any way concerned with the government of the world. It would deny therefore revelation, miracle, and providence. The great period of Deism was that of the English philosophical movement of the eighteenth century which really represented a transitional point of view, a transition from the old mythological idea of the universe. According to the mythological conception everything that happened in the world of nature was the direct act of a spiritual being. When the belief in one God was substituted for the belief in many spiritual beings, each single happening was ascribed to his individual work. Gradually there grew up the scientific idea of the universe, and it was described as the substitution of the laws of nature for the work of God.

At first only certain departments of nature were brought under the name of law. The earliest laws of nature which were discovered were those which controlled or seemed to control the heavenly bodies, which regulated the motions of

the sun, the planets, the earth and the fixed stars. Then came the gradual discovery of the laws of physics and chemistry; and then ultimately living phenomena were brought under the same system of law. It therefore seemed as if this principle prevailed universally, and that there was no place left for God in the world. There was the inherited belief that the world was created by God. This belief remained, but the realm in which God worked became smaller and smaller (so it seemed) and he might therefore be eliminated from the world.

Now the whole of this argument is based upon a mistaken idea of what the term "laws of nature" means. When we use the term law in its natural sense, we mean a rule which is imposed by a superior authority on human action. When it was first applied to natural things, I suppose that the idea was present in people's minds that the laws of nature were rules or regulations imposed upon nature by an authority outside, that is God. Then somehow or other people came to think of these laws as if they were the cause in the real sense of the word of what happens in nature. It is necessary then to ask what science has discovered about things. Has it discovered a real cause, a force or power which may in any real way be considered to be the cause of what we see? The answer is that it has not. All that science knows about nature is observed uniformities. It knows how things happen. It has not discovered in any way why things happen. When it uses such expressions as force, or power, or vital energy, its language is purely mythological. It is just as much mythology as Jupiter or Neptune were. Science knows nothing about force. It is only a picturesque way of describing the result of action. If you see water rushing down, you know that the water has power, but what the motive force is that makes the water run down hill you do not know. All that science knows is the way in which particles of water act under certain circumstances; having discovered that, it is able to apply what it has learnt to the benefit of mankind, but of the ultimate reason or cause it has no knowledge at all. It can discover how it will act, and under what circumstances.

Now let us examine what is meant by gravitation. Supposing that you are asked why an apple falls to the ground, you would probably answer because of gravitation, and that would be a quite correct way of speaking, if you know exactly what it meant. When you say that an apple falls to the ground because of gravitation, all you are really saying is this, that it is an observed uniformity that masses move towards one another. If you try and go further back, and ask why it is that masses should move towards one another in accordance with certain observed uniformities, the answer is that we do not know. And that is universal as regards science. What science proves is that if as the result of your observations you find that A and B produce C, owing to the uniformity of nature it will always happen. Oxygen and hydrogen combined in certain proportions make water. That we know. It is what is usually called a law of chemistry, but why it should be that oxygen and hydrogen produce water no one knows. It is simply part of the constitution of nature. Explanation in scientific phraseology does not mean getting at the original cause. It means making a wider generalisation, bringing things under a higher law. What Newton discovered was that the same law which regulates the fall of an apple to the ground regulated also the movement of the planets. That is to say everywhere throughout the universe there was the same observed uniformity in the action of masses in relation to one another.

The point of all this is to prove that science by its discoveries does not really give any grounds for banishing God from the world. The theory of Deism was to contrast the action of God and the action of law. That was quite natural as a transitional point of view, because before the scientific conception of nature came into being, the action of God was looked upon as something very different from the uniformity which science had discovered. Every particular act which happened was ascribed to the irregular and unexplained action of a personal being. So in contrast to that the idea of law seemed to banish the action of God. But when we have discovered "law" we are really no nearer explaining the cause

or reason of things than we were before, that is such a reason or cause of things as the action of God in the world means. Therefore there is no reason to think that, because you have introduced the knowledge of scientific law, you have therefore banished the action of God from the world. It is not that the world is governed by law and not by God, but that law is God. Law is the way in which God works in the world. Law is the knowledge that we can get of the will of God.

It is considerations like these that have banished Deism from practical thought. I do not suppose that any one is a Deist now. He might be a materialist. But he would not be a Deist, for he would feel that that particular form of philosophy was only a transitional point of view. It arose when science was beginning its career of conquest.

II.

I propose next to contrast Theism with Pantheism.

While Deism was the prevailing heresy of the eighteenth century, Pantheism represents a tendency of the present day. It says that the universe is God, and that we, as a part of the universe, are ourselves part of God. So our individuality is lost in the universal mind. This is what many people mean when they speak of God as immanent, as opposed to a transcendental God. Pantheism represents from one point of view the philosophic basis of polytheistic religions, and the moral and practical effects of Pantheism and Polytheism are very much the same.

In polytheistic religions you will find that there is a god for every form of natural phenomenon, and for every human activity, good or bad. Thus for example there is a goddess of murder in India. Among the Romans there was a god of petty larceny. So, in contrast to the austere and moral worship of Jehovah, there were the naturalistic religions of the surrounding nations. Religions of nature do not put an ideal before mankind in opposition to the promptings of nature, but sanctify every human operation or desire. So prostitution and

other immoral practices were and are looked upon as religious rites both in ancient Syria and in modern India. This results from the belief that the direct action of God may be seen in every form of human activity. When Pantheism takes the place of polytheism the religious and moral standpoint is the same.

Pantheism is polytheism philosophised. If all nature be divine and I am a part of nature, then I am divine. All that I do is divine and there is no distinction between good and bad, right and wrong. The logical result of Pantheism then is to weaken morality. Instead of a morality based on idealism and teaching (in any form) self-sacrifice, there is only the morality of experience. When there is a tendency towards Pantheism, morality weakens. A religious doctrine then which, when logically carried out is injurious to a moral life, is probably sufficiently condemned on those grounds. Human well-being depends upon a moral life, and a religion which fosters immorality seems therefore untrue.

But there is also I think a fundamental philosophical objection to pantheism. All our knowledge of the world starts from our own personality. The one thing that we do know is the existence of ourselves, of our *ego*. Our knowledge whether of the spiritual or the material is really a knowledge of our own experience. It is difficult therefore to see how a theory can be true which takes away the reality of the experiences upon which all our knowledge is built up.

The objections therefore to pantheism are twofold. On the one side it weakens moral impulse, on the other it destroys the reality of the *ego* which is the source of our knowledge. While Deism puts before us a belief in a transcendent deity entirely removed from the ordinary life of the world and taking no part in that life, a mere rational first cause; pantheism presents us with a God who is immanent in the world and has no transcendent existence outside it. As we proceed in our investigations we shall find that Christianity presents us with a God who is both transcendent and immanent, a God who is the first cause and creator of all things, and also the sustainer of the

universe who, as the Father of mankind, exhibits his providence in the care of the human race.

III.

The third theory I would speak of is that of Dualism. Dualism is a form of belief for which many people think there is a good deal to be said. The earliest form in which it appears is Zoroastrianism, in which the world is explained as the battlefield of good and evil—Ormuzd and Ahriman. Perhaps owing to Persian influence there were dualistic tendencies in Greek philosophy. Dualism certainly appears in the Gnostic heresies of the second century. In these we find a distinction made between the first God, and God the creator, the demiurge; the creator being sometimes represented merely as an inferior God, sometimes as an entirely evil God. Still more important was Manicheism which arose in Mesopotamia and represented an attempt at uniting eastern speculation with Christianity. Its fundamental principle was a dualism. It became known to the world as it spread throughout the Roman Empire. Its most famous convert was St. Augustine, who passed through a phase of that belief. Even when the world had become Christian this heresy never died throughout the middle ages. The Paulicians, sometimes called the Bogomiles, were influenced by it. It was one of the charges brought against the Knights Templar when they were destroyed. They were accused of having learnt Manicheism in the East. The same charge was brought, probably incorrectly, against the Albigenses.

At the present day there have been from time to time suggestions for reviving it. The most famous case was that of John Stuart Mill. In his posthumous *Three Essays on Religion* he suggested that a belief in some form of Dualism was the most rational explanation of things and wondered why people did not more easily adopt it. Something further of the same sort is found in a book by Mr. H. G. Wells published under the name of *God the Invisible King*. There he states that a belief in a limited God explains so many difficulties, that he wondered how the idea had not occurred to any one.

The moral results of dualistic teaching have been twofold. Sometimes they have resulted in an extreme asceticism. The tendency of any dualistic belief is to make a very definite contrast between matter and spirit. The evil principle is more or less definitely identified with the material world and the created universe. In contrast with that is the spiritual world, which is the world of the good God. This may be worked out in very different ways. There is the ascetic way. Morality means an escape from material surroundings which are evil. To do that a life of extreme asceticism is recommended. Everything that is in any way material, food for example, and all sensual pleasures are what is really evil. A truly good man will be one who by a life of self-mortification overpowers and weakens all his natural and carnal affections. This tendency has existed in Christianity. Asceticism may indeed exist without any reference to Manicheism, yet from time to time a Manichean tendency may be detected behind the form of conventional Christianity. If you read the best ascetic theology, you will always find that the writers assert that things are not wrong in themselves, that they only urge the duty of living a higher type of life. Yet there is always a tendency to look on the natural instincts of mankind as wrong in themselves.

While there has been this ascetic tendency, there has also been a tendency to immorality, often a gross immorality. What is done in the flesh, that is in the material world, does not contaminate the soul. However great may be a man's immorality, since only the carnal nature is gratified, the soul remains uncorrupted. Some of the early Gnostics were on this ground immoral. Some of them argued that the God of the Jews represented the power of this world, and we had to show the superior character of our religion by disregarding him, and the best way of doing so was to break all the ten commandments.

The accusations made against the Templars was that under the influence of teaching like this they led an immoral life. The spiritual man has nothing to do with material things, and therefore what he does with his body has nothing to do with his spiritual nature. Sin in the body does not count.

Let me turn to the theoretic basis of Dualism. John Stuart Mill wondered why Dualism was not universally accepted as the basis of religion. He pointed out how strong was the power of evil in the world. A dualistic religion therefore was an adequate explanation of the fact of experience.

The reasons for not accepting it are I think twofold. In the first place our intellectual nature is not satisfied with any theory which fails to give one first principle as the cause of the universe. The belief in one rational first cause seems to me at any rate satisfying. A theory which suggests that there has been a continuous and never ending contest between the spirit of good and the spirit of evil hardly satisfies our intellectual demands. Then, secondly, we are not satisfied with any theory which tells us that the contest between good and evil will always be a drawn battle. We recognise the element of contest in life. We recognise the existence of evil. We believe that there will be a final victory for good. Therefore we cannot look on a pure dualism as satisfying.

We turn to Mr. Wells' idea of a limited God, a God who is not all powerful, and who is leader of the forces of good in their fight against evil. This is dualism in another form. The philosophic objections against it are strong because it does not explain all our experience. It only explains one point. As a matter of fact you will find that Christianity does give you all that you want in relation to this problem, because it tells you how our Lord voluntarily limited himself in the Incarnation so that he might be himself our leader in the fight against evil.

It is I think interesting to notice how the conditions of life in different parts of the world, and the difference of environment in which people have lived, have caused fundamental differences in religious life. In hot fertile countries where nature is luxuriant and the power of human self-restraint is weakened, the tendency is for natural religions to develop. In a country like Persia where there is so great a contrast between the eternal desert and stretches of fertile country, a country where human effort is employed in the

continuous effort to wrest territory from a desert which is unconquerable, it was natural that at a certain period in the history of human thought the idea of the eternal conflict between good and evil should become dominant. The wider experience of the world as a whole will correct the imperfect ideas which particular places and peoples have evolved.

IV.

Finally we contrast Theism with Materialism. Materialism means a belief in the ultimate reality of matter, and nothing but matter. This has been presented as the creed of modern science, and certainly science in some of its developments has seemed at any rate to be aiming at explaining all the facts of human experience as developed out of matter. Life is but a form of material activity, the basis of the human brain is material, so all the spiritual facts of life are derived from matter and have no reality of existence in themselves. The human consciousness has no real existence, it is something purely transitory. It passes away as the colours of the rainbow or the soap bubble. The aspirations and expectations of human nature are illusions.

From the time of the Greek Atomists a materialistic explanation of things has continuously prevailed. It forms, for example, the creed of the great poem of Lucretius. It seemed at one time as if the speculations of modern science had strengthened and confirmed this belief. Few would I think claim that now. Science has been passing more and more from purely materialistic explanations of the universe. It seems to have explained away matter, and now force also. While it reveals the universe as more and more wonderful, it also tends to show the inadequacy of any purely physical explanations of even the physical facts of life. It is very difficult for us to understand the universe of Einstein, or Jeans, or Edington, but it certainly does not appear to us as a materialistic universe.

If we approach the problem from the metaphysical point of view the main argument against materialism is that we have no knowledge at all of matter except through mind. When

we come to analyse our knowledge we find that matter has no existence except as the hypothesis by which we explain our sensations and experience. Of matter itself we have no more direct knowledge than we have of God. Matter is only a cause, the creation of mind to explain the experience of mind, and it is difficult to explain the experience of mind by matter when we have no knowledge at all of the existence of matter except through mind. Mind comes first and is the necessary condition to each of us individually of all existence. That is the fundamental argument against explaining experience by any materialistic theory.

All materialistic and pantheistic theories may be grouped together under the name of Monism. They are alike in seeking to explain the universe by one principle whether by spirit or matter, and ultimately there is very little difference between a spiritual and material Monism. The analysis of matter by modern science has certainly taken away all its grossness. It is perhaps more attractive to think of the world as entirely spirit rather than entirely matter, but ethically and in relation to ourselves there is little difference. Both alike would deny the reality of human personality, both alike do away with the distinctions of right and wrong, both alike are inconsistent with the fact that all our knowledge starts with our own individual experience, with the *ego*.

These then are the principle rival theories to Christian Theism—Deism, Pantheism, Dualism, Materialism. In opposition to all these I would suggest to you that the belief which has come to us through revelation, the belief in one living personal God, is a far more satisfactory explanation of our individual experience and a far more rational explanation of the problems of the universe. Further both history and personal experience show us that it forms a far better basis for morality, and is far more conducive to human well-being than the other theories we have reviewed. As we advance further in our study of what Christianity means we shall find that the particular needs or problems which have led to this or that one-sided belief, whether dualistic or deistic, are really met by

different aspects of the full Christian Theism which is very far removed from any cold rationalistic Monotheism.

V.

The next question that I propose to discuss is how far man can have a knowledge of God. I am not, of course, at present approaching it from the point of view of Christian revelation, but rather as a problem of philosophy. In revelation we believe direct knowledge has come to man.

How is it possible, it may be asked, for a being of such limited capacity and outlook as man to have any knowledge of that which transcends the world and human nature so much as God. It is often asserted that what we consider our knowledge of God is anthropomorphic, that is man who has created God in his own likeness. He has imagined a cause of the universe like himself. Such criticisms were first directed against polytheistic conceptions. The most famous perhaps is that of the Greek philosopher Xenophanes. He, speaking of the current belief of his time, said, "Mortals think that gods are begotten, and have dress and voice and form like their own. But if oxen or lions had hands, and could draw with their hands, and make work of art as men do, horses would draw forms of God like horses, and oxen like oxen, giving them bodies after the fashion of their own." "The Ethiopians represent their gods as flat-nosed and black: The Thracians say theirs have blue eyes and red hair."

This is the criticism of a Greek philosopher directed against the polytheistic worship of his own day. Statues of gods were made giving them the form and appearance of men, just as Homer ascribed to them all the characteristics of men, life and action, words and thought, only making them more powerful and often more ardent. But the criticism is intended to be more far-reaching and not confined only to superficial characteristics. It is meant to imply that man's conception of God is really only an extension of his knowledge of himself. It is pointed out that the history of man's belief in God means the gradual elimination of these anthropomorphic elements from

our conception of the nature of God. The process can be traced in the Old Testament. In Genesis we read of "God walking in the garden in the cool of the day," and there are many other instances of God conceived in the likeness of man. In the prophets we find most of these elements eliminated. Under the influence of the philosophers the conception of God has been developed until it has become something purely abstract. Greek philosophy came to look upon God as pure being, τὸ ὄν—that which exists but of which nothing else can be predicated. Early Christian heretics like the Gnostics, who had some claim to be philosophers, made a great distinction between the first or highest God and all other beings. Basilides tried to realise a conception of God which would be pure absolute. You cannot say of God either that he exists or that he does not exist. You cannot call him ineffable, for this is to make an assertion about him.

In modern times there has been the same tendency to attempt to arrive at a conception of the Absolute which would transcend all experience. Hegel would, I think, speak of it as that which both exists and does not exist. Of course if philosophers compel us to think about God in such a way and to eliminate the possibility of any assertion being made about him, we must arrive ultimately at a God who is completely unknowable. Is this process of eliminating every element which appears anthropomorphic necessary or legitimate?

Let us come back to our original reasons for believing in God. We believe in God because we feel that there must be a rational cause of the universe. If that is so, everything which we mean by reason must be a fundamental attribute of God. So also we believe in God because we wish to find an explanation of the moral facts of life. If that is so, righteousness must be a fundamental attribute of God. If God exists, he must be both reason and righteousness.

This we may call the higher anthropomorphism, a phrase invented by Dr. Matthews and Canon Streeter, and to justify it we may say that, if our explanation of things is correct, it is not God who is created by us in the likeness of man, but man

who has been created in the likeness of God. Then those highest attributes of man are legitimate means by which we can learn what God is like. The most Godlike attributes of man are reflected by the reality which is in God. It is not that we have any anthropomorphic conception of God, but a theomorphic conception of man.

When therefore we talk of God as reason or righteousness, our language is real, and the attributes we apply to the Godhead are real, but it does not follow that therefore our language is adequate. Our mind cannot conceive fully what God must mean, nor can our language express it. In all language which we use about religion, we have to recognise that the symbolical element is very large. Ultimately the language we use is almost always metaphorical. It is necessarily imperfect because it comes from human experience, and human experience is limited while God is unlimited. We express our religious ideas, which transcend experience by a language which is necessarily limited. That does not mean that our ideas are not real, but that our ideas and language are imperfect. The conclusion that comes from this is, I think, important. It is not legitimate to argue against the belief in God because of the imperfect ideas people hold and the imperfect language which they use to express their beliefs. All human conceptions of the Godhead are imperfect, and sometimes when people who are approaching the subject from a different point of view are brought up against such imperfections, they begin to doubt the existence or goodness of God, not because of anything they know about him, but because men's conceptions of him are imperfect.

A good illustration of this would be Calvin's conception of God. He was carried away by one overpowering idea — the sovereignty of God—and he worked the implications of this out with great logical power. He was carried away by one overmastering conception. He did not perceive how this might conflict with men's sense of humanity, and justice and mercy. The time came when Calvinism appeared to many strongly anti-religious, because it conflicted with other aspects of the

Godhead. People have for this reason lost their faith. We must not allow imperfect conceptions of the Godhead to turn us away from our belief in him.

The same reasons then which justify our belief in God, enable us to have a real knowledge of him. God is, as we shall realise more fully as we proceed, the highest reason, and goodness, and truth, and love, and beauty, but no conception which we have of him can be adequate, and many of those which have been put before us are defective and even harmful.

VI.

The next point that I would discuss is the relation of God to nature.

In the early part of the nineteenth century there was a considerable amount of controversy about the doctrine of special creation. It was held that God had separately created each particular species of living things and had fashioned, so to speak, the inorganic world. God was looked upon as the supreme artificer of the universe. This doctrine was defended partly on scientific, partly on theological grounds at a time when the wider conceptions of evolution first became prevalent.

We have already seen that the original conception of the work of God in nature was mythological. He was conceived of as working in every separate act. This from a higher point of view may still be held, but when the conception of law in nature first appeared, it led to the idea that the belief in God was opposed to the scientific conception of law. The question was and is asked—if the universe be as conceived by science, where does religion come in? Where can I find the work of God? And an attempt was made to find the working of God in the gaps in our scientific knowledge. There was a famous sermon of Dr. Liddon's in which he drew attention to the two gaps between living and non-living things and between mind and not mind. It has been thought that here we may find the direct action of God in these new processes of creation. So strong has been this belief that, when from time to time it

has been rumoured (so far quite incorrectly) that living things have been created out of non-living, it has caused something like a panic among some religious people.

Now I do not think that it is ever a wise thing to build up your religious belief on the gaps of scientific knowledge, because as science advances many of the gaps which used to exist have been filled up. It is quite true that there is still a gap between living and non-living things. It is quite probable that it is a gap which may never be filled up. I mean that no one will discover how what is living may be produced from what is not living. But yet there is a very close analogy between what is living and what is not living. All the laws of chemistry and physics apply to both alike. The man of science thinks that, if he cannot fill up the gap, it is only through the inadequacy of his present knowledge, and he is unwilling to bring in a religious hypothesis in order to explain something which ought to be the subject of scientific investigation.

Then again, we do not know how living beings come to have conscious minds, but yet we know that there is a continuous development between the most rudimentary living organisms and the fully developed human being. It is very difficult to draw the line between reason and instinct.

Now I do not say that a way will ever be found in which these two gaps are bridged in nature. I think it is quite possible that this may never happen. It does not however follow that the process has not been continuous, and I wish to state the problem now not from the scientific, but from the theological point of view. Which implies the highest conception of God? or suggests the most wonderful idea of his workings? The hypothesis that, having made the world, he had to interfere from time to time by direct action in its development, so as to make up for defects in its early construction, or the hypothesis that he made the world from the beginning so perfect, that it would fulfil all his will and purpose by a continuous and uninterrupted process of development, so that this world, created as he created it, would be one which

would produce ultimately by a process of normal development the highest moral and spiritual organisms?

Speaking then only from the theological point of view, I should hold this to be a higher and more satisfying conception than that which would find God in certain breaks in the continuity of existence. The conception of the unity of scientific knowledge affords a far higher testimony of God than anything based on imperfections in the scheme of things. The scientific view of the universe is really the most religious. It does not tell us anything about the cause or purpose or origin of things. It does tell us how the world works and has worked. Within that sphere science is absolutely supreme. To attempt to interfere with its working, or to make our religion depend on its presumed imperfections is as great a mistake theologically as scientifically. Outside that sphere it is another question. Prior to our knowledge of sensible things is the knowledge of a self which can know about these things. We know ourselves as causes. That gives the mind the idea of cause, and we read this idea into the natural world. We know ourselves as reason, and reason as a cause, hence we read reason into the world as the cause of things. Thus our knowledge of our own mind teaches us to think of things in quite a different way from that in which the scientific man thinks of them. It leads us up to the idea of God, but of God, not as working in some particular points, but as working everywhere. If you ask where can I find God working in the world, you come back to a conception much more resembling that with which the human mind started, but with this great difference that the idea of law or uniform action has come in. The whole of the universe represents the working of God, and the laws of the universe represent the will of God.

In conclusion let me take an illustration. Supposing any one studies a complicated piece of machinery, he finds it exactly adjusted in all its parts to fulfil a certain purpose. If he studied only the machinery he would not be able to find any evidence of a directing power. But if that piece of machinery were well constructed, although everything in it happened

inevitably as the result of something which had been previously ordered, this would not mean that it worked automatically but that it fulfilled the will of the maker and director. In the case of a motor car, the more perfectly it is constructed, the more fully does it carry out the will and purpose of the man who drives. The better the instrument the more inevitably does it respond to the will of the director. Therefore if the world be conceived as an absolutely perfect construction, it must exhibit two characteristics—one that everything happens according to the law of its being, the other that everything represents the will or mind of the originator. If that be actually the characteristic of the world, and from a theological point of view we have every reason for thinking that it is, then the more perfect and the more inevitable the law of the universe as discovered by science, the more completely it represents the perfection of divine action.

Now I do not know whether I have succeeded in making myself clear. I would suggest that the point of view that I have put forward is the most tenable, both scientifically and theologically. It is not a novel point of view, though it is one which many people have not grasped. You will find it quite clearly put forward for example by St. Thomas Aquinas. It has been the characteristic of all wise theologians. It gives the right attitude for discussing the relations of science and religion—that religion has one sphere, science another, that they represent the world looked at from different standpoints, that any attempt to harmonise them, by giving some things to science and some things to religion, will always be precarious and unsound. The right view is to recognise that all things belong to science, and all things belong to religion.

VII.

I now come to speak of the relations of God to mankind. I will begin with a story. Once when I was travelling in Brittany, I stopped at a place where there was a wonder-working image of the Virgin, and in the inn in which I was staying, there were a series of pictures describing a reputed

miracle. The first showed a child which had fallen into a mill stream and was on the verge of drowning. The second representing the mother as praying. The third represented the Virgin Mary coming down from heaven to rescue the child, seizing it by its arm, and lifting it out of the water. The fourth showed the miller turning the water off higher up the stream. I suppose that the commonplace critic of the present day would remark on the extreme naivety of the representation, and would say, here you have an admirable instance of what people think is an answer to prayer. The whole happens through natural causes. The child fell into the water. The miller turned off the water and the child was not drowned. Where did the answer to prayer come in? What reason is there for thinking there was any divine providence in the event?

I venture to think that the naivety of the religious mind has a deeper insight into the causes of things than the mere commonplace critic who looks at things only from outside. What was the ultimate cause which caused the man to turn off the water? Was it a mere accident or coincidence? Surely there is no reason for doubting if you approach the whole question from the religious point of view that God works through man, just as he works through nature, and if that be the case the prayer of the woman may have played its right part as the ultimate spiritual cause of the miller's action.

If we believe in God we can see how prayer may be a great spiritual force behind all things. Whether as regards human beings or the natural world, God works in and through what we call natural laws, that is, he fulfils his will in the world through the ordinary action of mankind. If there is a definite purpose in the world, and if that purpose is being gradually worked out, it is wrought out, not through any action of God apart from mankind, but by God working in and through mankind. Most of us would believe that there is a divine purpose in history, that the course of the world shows clearly that everything is tending towards some goal, which we only very imperfectly understand. Now this purpose of God

in history has come about, not by direct interference as people fancied in the mythological age, but through God using human instruments to fulfil his will. Such would always be the conception of any great religious worker. He knows that he accomplishes nothing by himself, but simply as the instrument of God who has called him to his work. What the religious teacher with his deeper insight feels, is really happening in the case of all men. They are the unconscious instruments of God's will.

A study of Christian Science illustrates this religious fallacy. A Christian Scientist holds that it is wrong to have recourse to medical skill, and would rely only on prayer. If the above argument is correct he is wrong both theologically and scientifically. He is as wrong-headed as a farmer would be who thought it sufficient to go to church and did not take the trouble to cultivate his land properly. Both alike are entirely ignoring what we are able to learn about God's work in the universe. It is only by studying God's laws in the universe that we are able, at first unconsciously, and later consciously, to adapt the universe to our purpose. Health and disease are dependent upon scientific laws. If we wish to cure people we must study the scientific laws of health and disease, and work in accordance with them. There is much out of our control. The issue depends upon forces which are in the hand of God. We pray him to help us in our work, but it is blasphemous to pray, if we have not ourselves acted in accordance with God's laws as revealed to us in science. The only reason why Christian Science has a certain speciousness to some people is that the influence of mind or spirit on the body is a definite factor in life, and that there has been a tendency on the part of many physicians to ignore it. The spiritual condition of persons who are ill has an influence on their recovery, and on that Christian Science builds up its erroneous creed. The good Christian knows that, if he is to be cured, he must do everything which science directs, but the ultimate result is in God's hands, and our prayers, as part

of the spiritual cause of things in the world, may be part of the means through which God accomplishes his purpose.¹

VIII.

I come now to the final question under this heading of which I propose to treat—the relation of God to human free-will. I have spoken of the work of God in all nature and in the history of the world as not interfering with human activity but as working through human activity. How then are we to relate the work of God to human free will? Where can we find a place for human free will in the world?

Now if we approach this question of free will from what I have called a monistic standpoint, it is very hard to find a place for it. To the Pantheist, mind is a part of God, and equally with the rest of nature represents his workings. So also, from a materialistic standpoint, free will must be a delusion. All our actions are the inevitable result of antecedent conditions. People who hold such a point of view will suggest to you reasons why you should deny human free-will. They will point out to you, for example, that we know how a child reproduces the characteristics of its parents. They will suggest that the only reason why we cannot tell exactly what a child will be like in every detail is our imperfect knowledge. Human actions are, it is said, the product of two things, heredity and environment, and it is only the extremely complex character of the data that prevents us from being able to calculate the action of every human being as we can calculate the curve of a stone in the air. As a matter of fact we do calculate the way in which we may expect a person to act in any particular circumstances. We know that this man will get drunk if he is exposed to temptation. We know that we can trust another man in the same circumstances. We really do empirically, just what science would do accurately if it had sufficient data. The appearance of free-will is, we are told, a delusion.

¹ I have found great help in obtaining clear ideas of the two aspects from which we may study nature in a little book of Dr. Lloyd Morgan on "The Interpretation of Nature."

Let us approach the question from a purely religious point of view. God, it is said, is omniscient, omnipresent, all powerful. Everything must be predestined by him from eternity. So, again, no freedom is possible for man.

But now let us approach the question from another point of view, our own personal experience. I suppose that the one thing of which we are quite certain is that we are free agents. We have a sense of right and wrong. We are conscious that we have done wrong, and we feel that we are responsible for that wrong action. We think other persons who have done wrong are responsible for it. Our actions are based on the idea that man can exercise choice. Society is organized on the same supposition and so is all our legislation. Individual experience and social consciousness alike presuppose human freedom.

Or if we look at things from a religious point of view, we find that the belief that a man is responsible for whether he does right or whether he does wrong, is just as strongly engrained in us as the belief of God's omnipotence.

Now let us turn to the influence of science on man's relation to the world. Theoretically the progress of science has, at any rate until lately, strengthened the conviction that human action is controlled by scientific determinism. On the other hand the greater our scientific knowledge, the greater becomes the power of man in the world. In a rudimentary state of science man does not think his actions are controlled by nature, but he has very little power of making himself a cause in nature. As our intellectual capacity advances, our conception of the power of nature becomes far greater, but our knowledge of ourselves as sources and causes become greater too. So in relation to religion, if a man holds any form of predestinarian theology, pantheist or materialist, his moral sense has a tendency to decline. A man under such influence will consider that what is to happen to him is fate, and therefore he will not attempt to strive against it. Another man in a similar position, who held a different creed, would contend against his fate, and so find that it was not his fate at all.

The result of all this is to emphasize to us the fact that the fabric of life is built up on the supposition that we are in a real sense free, and that we assume free will in all our actions. How then do we account for the apparent contradiction? Our mistake arises from building up our philosophy simply on a part of experience, and then trying to make the rest of life harmonize with our philosophy. I have pointed out that we build up our scientific view of the world on a part of our experience, on something which is clearly not the whole. We have a far wider experience than our scientific knowledge of nature. A system of philosophy constructed on an incomplete experience must be itself incomplete and imperfect. It is the natural tendency of the human mind to be too ready to make a system and then to try and fit the world into that system. Now I have pointed out to you that we ourselves are prior in thought to the world that we perceive. Any system of philosophy, therefore, or conception of the universe which does away with our *ego*, with our own individuality, must be unsound. The *I* of our consciousness is prior in thought to the conception of uniformity which is supposed to take away the autonomy of the *I*. Any philosophy, which is inconsistent with the whole experience of the *I*, must be incomplete, and if, as happens, you find that the conviction of freedom is as much a part of your experience as is your conviction of the uniformity of nature, then your system of philosophy must be imperfect unless it explains both sets of experience. The two great truths of universal law and of free will are in fact not antagonistic, but are two different aspects of the same problem. If you look at my actions from the point of view of science, you are able to describe the manner in which I must inevitably do things, but, if you look at my actions from the side of my own experience, you find that I am an originating cause. In exactly the same way we saw that nature, looked at from one point of view, seems to be the result of universal law. From the other side it is the expression of the will of God.

Now let us look at this problem of human freedom from

the theological standpoint. It has been said, God is almighty, therefore man cannot be free. Now when you say this, what you really mean is, I cannot understand how man can be free if God is almighty. From my human standpoint I cannot harmonise the two conceptions. What you are really doing is to limit the power of God by your own understanding; you are making his omnipotence to be just the same sort of thing as your own power, but greater. You are saying that God is a being who can do much more than I can of the same sort of things that I do. But that is not what the idea of God really means. It means that he is so infinitely great, that it is not possible for a man to conceive what he can accomplish. If that be so, while it may be difficult for you from your limited human standpoint to harmonise the two conceptions of foreknowledge and free will, of divine sovereignty and human responsibility, it does not follow that it is not possible from the divine standpoint. If you really mean what you say, when you say that God is almighty, you mean that it is possible for him to have full and complete knowledge of all human action, that he should have created man with full foreknowledge, and yet that man should be free to work out his own salvation. It is really a far higher conception of God as almighty, as sovereign, as omniscient, to say that man is free, than to limit the Divine power by our own inadequate mental capacity.

I should like to conclude by some extracts from the *Summa Contra Gentiles* of St. Thomas Aquinas. The following is what he says about the relation of natural cause to the divine power:

“When the same effect is attributed to a natural cause and to the divine power, it is not as though the effect were produced partly by God and partly by the natural agent: but the whole effect is produced by both though in different ways, as the same effect is attributed wholly to the instrument, and wholly also to the principal agent.”²

² S. Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, Book III, Chapter LXX, p. 242. These quotations are taken from the translation of the *Contra Gentiles* by Father Rickaby, S.J. published under the title of “Of God and his Creatures.”

Then in discussing the question whether Divine providence is inconsistent with the freedom of the will, his argument implies the same assumptions as I have suggested. The ideas of God and divine providence demand that man should be possessed of freedom:

“Providence,” he writes, “tends to multiply good things in the subjects of its government. But if free will were taken away, many good things would be withdrawn. The praise of human virtue would be taken away, which is nullified where good is not done freely: the justice of rewards and punishments would be taken away, if man did not do good and evil freely: wariness and circumspection in counsel would be taken away, as there would be no need of taking counsel about things done under necessity. It would be therefore contrary to the plan of providence to withdraw the liberty of the will.”³

The argument is like most of those of the schoolmen *a priori*, but so is the argument which denies free will because of God’s omnipotence. St. Thomas’s point of view is that the idea of God in its completeness implies free will, although one aspect of it—the divine providence—seems to deny it.

But although he recognizes free will, he represents all actions as dependent on God:

“Nothing can act in its own strength unless it act also in the power of God; therefore man cannot use the will power given to him except in so far as he acts in the power of God. God is the cause of all action and works in every agent: therefore he is the cause of the motives of the will.”⁴

The position which St. Thomas puts before us is that which I have adopted. If we look at the relation of God to nature, the ultimate conclusion that we come to is that, from one point of view, all nature is the expression of law, from

³ Book III, Chapter LXIII, p, 245.

⁴ *Ib.* Chapter LXXIX.

another point of view all nature can be studied as the expression of God's will, for law is God. If we look at human free will in relation to God, from one point of view man is free and responsible, but from another point of view our actions are God's actions. God is working in us always, and in every way. What we must always avoid thinking (it seems a plausible argument but is quite erroneous) is that some things are done by law, and some by God. All our actions are part of the order of nature, the expression of law, but equally all our actions are free and we ourselves are originating causes.

A. C. GLOUCESTR:

ART. II.—THE EGYPTIAN TEXTS OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS.

(Continued.)

IV.

DR. STREETER¹ writing of the Gospel quotations of Clement of Alexandria says that "these are found to have a specially large infusion of Western readings." I have noted about 180 readings of Clement in Luke, and of these only two agree with pure β readings: the omission of *αυτον* after *καρδιασ* in vi, 45, and of *απ* in xii, 58. These are clearly either accidental or derived from a very early common original. (In iii, 23, the position of the participle immediately after *ιησουσ* is found in fam. 1 and fam. 13 as well as in β .) About half a dozen readings are found elsewhere almost solely in θ texts: they are either trivial (as vi, 46, om. $\delta\epsilon$ with two members of fam. 13), or due to assimilation with Matthew (as vi, 36, *ο πατηρ υμων ο ουρανιος* from Mt. v, 48). The nearest approach to a significant agreement with ς alone is the omission of *τω αγιω* in x, 21; but this is also found in P⁴⁵. Clement in fact used an almost pure δ text. The more remarkable departures from it are vi, 43, *καρπον* (*καρπουσ δ*); xii, 19, *κειμενα εισ ετη πολλα αναπανου φαγε πιε* (om. δ , but not Sy^{sc}: excised by a Latin puzzled by the gastronomical powers of an *anima*); xii, 20, *τινι* (*τινοσ δ*); xiv, 20, *εγημα* (*ελαβον δ*). The most striking δ readings are perhaps these: iii, 22, *υιοσ μου ει συ [αγαπητοσ] εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε* (possibly right: *αγαπητοσ* is assimilation to Mt. or Mk.); ix, 62, *ουδεις γαρ εισ τα οπισω βλεπων και επιβαλλων την χειρα αυτου επ αροτρον ευθετοσ τη βασιλεια του θεου* (so P⁴⁵); x, 42, om. *ολιγων δε εστιν χρεια*; xii, 11, *φερωσιν, εισ, προμεριμνατε*, om. *ητι* 1^o; xiv,

¹ *The Four Gospels*, p. 57.

20, om. δια τουτου; xvii, 4, το επτακις (rightly); xx, 34, γεννωσι και γενωνται (*a* Iren Sy^{sc}). In the first two of these readings Clement agrees with D and its Latin allies against the Old Syriac; and indicates a geographically Western element (if no more) in his Gospel text. Professor Burkitt has suggested² that in xxiv, 43, Clement is practically alone in preserving the truth: και φαγων ενωπιον αυτων ειπεν αυτοις (=et manducans coram ipsis [et] dixit ad eos *b ff² q*: and see now the conflate reading of Θ, και φαγων ενωπιον αυτων [λαβων τα επιλοιπα εδωκεν αυτοις] ειπεν δε αυτοις).

As yet no fragments of any version of Luke in a "Middle Egyptian" dialect have been published; but the Sa'idic is again a translation of a β text with quite definite traces of δ . Horner (vol. iii, p. 389) notes that of 65 Lucan readings selected for discussion by Westcott and Hort, 62 are places where Sa'idic supports β . In two of the remaining instances the MSS. of the version are divided: in ix, 37, "on the same day" (cf. δ) is only found in one of the three MSS.; and in xxiv, 46, και ουτως εδει (om. $\beta\delta$) again in one of three. The final case has a still more interesting conflict of Sa'idic evidence: for the καιομενη of most Greek MSS at xxiv, 32, five fragments read "covered" (κεκαλυμμενη D c) and the sixth has "heavy" (Sy^{sc.vg}, cf. exterminatum e). But though there are a number of such small coincidences with δ , the vast majority of δ readings are absent. Only one of the peculiar additions of D is found (it is also in the Graeco-Sa'idic 070 and in c): xxiii, 53, και θεντοσ αυτου επεθηκεν [-καν 070] τω μνημειω λιθον μεγαλ [om. D c Sa^{3:6}: ? ex Mt. xxvii, 60] ον μογισ εικοσι [+ανδρεσ 070 Sa] εκυλιον.³ An agreement with the "European" Old Latin

² Preface to P. M. Barnard's *Clement of Alexandria's Biblical Text* (Cambridge, 1899), p. xvi.

³ Dr. Rendel Harris sees here the influence of some Homeric passage such as Od. ix, 240-2: see his *Study of Codex Bezae*, Cambridge, 1891, p. 47-52; and the *Homeric Centones*, p. 81. His suggestion of a Latin original is untenable; but it is perhaps worth noting that such unexpected additions are characteristic of Sa both in O.T. and N.T. Professor Clark has urged that D was probably written in Egypt. I am not convinced by his argument; but did D derive this half verse from early Egyptian Christianity? (The omission

is found at xi, 2, γενηθητω το θελημα σου (Sa a: om. BL fam. 1 Sy^{sc}: + ωσ—γησ cett.); but a couple of verses later *a* does not support the omission of *αλλα ρυσαι ημας απο του πονηρου* by S*BL Sa 700 fam. 1 Sy^s Arm Marcion Vg. Two other readings where the Sa'idic preserves the correct text with a few other authorities are ii, 14, ευδοκιασ (S*B* W D 28) and x, 1, εβδομηκοντα δυο B o181 D M R Sy^{sc} e a). Finally mention should be made of what is probably the best-known peculiarity of this version of Luke, the reading *πλουσιος ονοματι Νινευη* in xvi, 19, and Gressmann's ingenious suggestion that it is a corruption of *Minea Μιναιος*, the designation of the plutocrat in the Rabbinic version of the parable.⁴

According to Dr. Streeter (p. 54) Origen used a β text, "but at some point he seems to have changed his MS. of Luke for one of the type of *fam. ①*" (p. 96). I can add nothing to this except to confirm the existence of a definite non-β strain in some of his quotations: e.g., vi, 40, *πας εστω* (S Sa ①); ix, 26, om. *λογουσ* (D ael Sy^{sc}: perhaps rightly, cf. Mk. viii, 38, Wk); 27, *εωσ αν ιδωσι τον υιον του ανθρωπου εν τη δοξη αυτου* (see D and Sy^c); 29, *και ηλλοιωθη* (① Sy^{hel*} Arm) *ο ιματισμος αυτου και εγενετο* (①) *λευκος εξαστραπτων*; 61, *απελθειν και αποταξασθαι* (a Sa Eth Sy^{ut.pal.vg} Bas: Mt. viii, 21); xii, 42, *οικετιασ* (fam. 1 124 ? Sy^{sc}); xviii, 19, add. *ο πατηρ* (Clem. Val Marcion Arm;

⁴ Jerusalem Talmud, Chagigah 77 D. Gressmann, *Protestantenblatt* 1916, Nr. 16-17; *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1918, Nr. 7. A scholion in a few Greek minuscules preserves the name as *νινευησ*; it appears as *Finees* in Priscillian, and Zahn records an *Amonofis*.

of *ανδρεσ* makes direct borrowing from the Coptic unlikely.) At any rate we have here another apparent link in error between Egypt and North Africa, for in these chapters *c* has a Cyprianic text. Much has been written during the past forty years on the influence of the versions upon the Greek text, and very little has been proved. But such a case as viii, 43, *ην ουδε εισ ισχυεν θεραπευσαι* (D Sa) really is most easily explicable by the absence of a passive in Coptic; and it should not be counted as a δ reading in Sa. On the other hand the omission of *ιατροις προσαναλωσασα ολον τον βιον* in the same verse is not an Egyptian eccentricity but the truth (om. D-Sa B Sy^{s.pal} Arm).

e in Mt.); xx, 34, add. γεννωνται και γεννωσιν (D ff i q: tr. rightly Clem accl Ir Sy^{vt.hcl-mg}); xxii, 27, ηλθον ουχ ως ο ανακειμενος αλλ ως (Dc).⁵

I have been unable to find any certain trace of the lines of an ancestor of P⁴⁵ in Luke.⁶ In ix, 62, it omits προσ αυτον (9 letters), and in xi, 19, τα δαιμονια (10); but other omissions usually have support elsewhere: e.g., vi, 48, om. 27 letters with 700 Sy^s; x, 11, om. (? τον) κολληθεντα (13); 21 om. και της γησ (9 Epiph Tert Marc) and ναι ο πατηρ οτι (? Mcion); 38, ? om. εισ τον οικον (B); xi, 14, om. και αυτο ην (s) and ο κωφοσ; 29 om. σημειον; 31 om. εν τη κρισει (D ff²); xii, 2, om. και κρυπτον ο ου γνωσθησεται.

Pure δ readings are numerous and some of them outstanding. There is a definite strain connected with the geographical West: ix, 57, υπαγησ (cf. υπαγεισ D 157: ex Jn. xiii, 36); 62 ουδεις εισ [τα οπισω βλεπων και επι βαλ(λ)ων την] χειρα αυτου επ αροτρον ευθε[τοσ] (Dabceq Clem Cyp: not in Kenyon); x, 14, and xi, 31, om. εν τη κρισει (D Latt); x, 32, om. ελθων (D Latt); xi, 21, την αυλην αυτου (D Latt); 34 παν (D: ολον cett.); 52 εισπορευομενουσ (D); 53 εχειν (D Latt); xii, 47, και ποιησας for και μη ποιησας (D 69 Ir Or: μη ετοιμασας, ? ex xvii, 7, fam. 13 Latt. Sy: conflate βθs); 52 τρισ διαμ.(D); 55 ιδητε (e ab). Presence

⁵ Von Soden (i, p. 1520 and *ad loc.*) and Erwin Nestle (in the Stuttgart N.T. *Graece* ¹⁴) both state that in iii, 22, Origen's version of the cry at the Baptism agreed with δ. This is quite uncertain: see E. Hautsch, *Die Evangelienzitate des Origines*, Leipzig 1909, p. 101-2.

⁶ In *Aegyptus*, xiii (1933), p. 67-72, H. Gerstinger published Pap. gr. Vindob. 31,974, part of the same page as fol. 2 of P⁴⁵, Mt. xxv, 41-xxvi, 39. There is an unfortunate tendency in some quarters to regard P⁴⁵ as a primary authority like Sy^s. That it is not. Corrections to Dr. Kenyon's edition are slowly accumulating and I mention one or two that I have made. To them I add one caution: Kenyon frequently neglects the discovery made by Hutton (*An Atlas of Textual Criticism*, Cambridge 1901, p. 49-53) that all the valuable element in fam. 13 is in 69 or 124. If this is taken into account, the agreement between P⁴⁵ and this "Ferrari" group is larger than appears from Kenyon's apparatus.

of affinity with the definitely Eastern text of the Old Syriac type is shown by xiii, 10, τοις σαββασιν εν μια των συναγωγων (Sy^{sc}); x, 11, om. υμιν (Sy^{sc}); and probably (in view of the close connexion between the Egyptian texts and Carthage) by the omission of xii, 9 (*e* Sy^s 245)—though the last may be due to homoeoteleuton. Notable is the omission of xi, 11, αρτον μη λιθον επιδωσει αυτω η και (B 1241 Sa, Lat^{ut} Sy^s Arm, Marc Orig); where there was perhaps a marginal correction in an ancestor of P⁴⁵, for it has substituted αρτον for ων in the next verse. Clearer traces of such correction are: xi, 44, εστε μνημεια D, εστε ως τα μνημεια τα cett., ως εστε μνημεια P⁴⁵; and xii, 24, where το τα πετεινα του ουρανου (δ; ex Mt.) has been added τουσ κορακας (cett.) as is shown by the following αυτα (D): in fam. 13 the same correction ousted the δ clause leaving the ungrammatical αυτα as a sole sign of its history. In ix, 37, we have an earlier stage of a corruption found in D; the process was this: τη εξησ ημερα (β W fam. 1, fam. 13: pr. εν s); τη s ημερα; τησ ημερασ (P⁴⁵); δια της ημερασ (D).

Pure θ readings are not so plentiful: xii, 28, εν αγρω σημερον τον χορτον οντα (700 157); vi, 38, τω αυτω μετρω ω (© fam. 13 Sy^s); xi, 24, ζητων . . . ευρισκων without τοτε (fam. 13); xii, 53, την θυγατερα (L Ψ, © 700, fam. 1, 157); 4 πτοηθητε (700). In vi, 48, it is more probable that P⁴⁵ has preserved the right reading by omitting δια το καλωσ οικοδομησθαι αυτην (or the δs equivalent) with 700 Sy^s, than that the 27 letters of the β form fell out through homoeoteleuton. There are more, but less striking, pure β readings: e.g. x, 38, εν δε τω; xi, 29, ζητει; xii, 29, και τι. Agreement with interesting conjunctions of authorities are: vi, 34, om. εστιν (B 700 *e*); ix, 35, ο εκλελεγμενου (β *aff*²¹ Sy^s); 52 ως (B⁸ *e abql*); xii, 22, om. αυτου (Bce); ix, 54, εκ (CD© fam. 1); xiii, 19, τον κηπον (S^aD 700 124); ix, 35, om. λεγουσα (700 *bcl* Sy^s: ? rightly).

Readings with little support are ix, 29, προσενξασθαι (S^{*} 1); 33 διδασκαλε (X 157 213 *abdr*: cf. viii, 45; ix, 49); 62 ειπεν δε ο ιησους (B 700 0181); x, 17, εβδομηκοντα δυο (B Sa 0181, D Sy^s: rightly); 21 om. και της γησ (Marc) and ναι ο πατηρ (? Marcion);

35 εδωκεν δυο δηναρια (B), ειν (B); 38 om. εισ την οικιαν (αυτησ) (B Sa); xi, 12, om. μη (BL 892); 33 om. ουδε υπο τον μοδιον (L^ξ 070 fam. 1: rightly, for this phrase and εισ κρυπτον are equivalents); 42 ανηθον (157⁷: ex Mt.); xii, 1, λαον (579); 2 κεκαλυμμενον (N C); 7 ηριθμημεναι without εισιν (? Cl); 53 υιος επι πατρι . . . πατηρ επι υιω (157); xiii, 8, om. αυτω fortasse (157, 1093); 15 αποκριθεις δε (28 1424); xiv, 1, εν σαββατω (© 73 157); 23 ποιησον (157 Sy^{sc}). None of the unique readings is very attractive, but x, 21, εν τω πνευματι (only) looks primitive. In ix, 51, it has simply ου γαρ εστιν καθ υμων ουδε υπερ υμων. In xi, 15, for the ειπον of most MSS. it has ελαλησαν οχυροι λεγοντες: the last two words are a corruption of οι οχλοι λεγοντες (Mt. ix, 33), leaving the first as the real variant. At xii, 36, I should read ελθοντ[οσ και] ευθewσ κ[ρουσαντοσ] which is as unsupported as Kenyon's ελ. ευθ. και κρ., but fills the space better.

This part of the papyrus is definitely a non-β Eastern text. The θ text has not been clearly defined in Luke, and it is possible that P⁴⁵ is the most typical representative of such texts that we have.

In the fathers in the latter half of the third century there are traces of non-β readings (e.g. xv, 4, αφησι, Methodius with D it), but they are ill-defined and their extent is doubtful. There is no such doubt about 0171, the fragment of a magnificent fourth-century codex containing xxii 44-56, 61-63. It has an almost pure δ text with such readings as: 44 ωσ (D); 47 καλουμενοσ ιουδασ ισκαριωθ (D 157); probably 61 [απαρ]νησ[η με μη ειδεναι με] (D abl Arm); and 63 om. δεροντες (D 69 abeiq). It contained 43 f.; and in 49 it has γενομενον with D 106 Sy^{vg}.^{hcl-mg} Bo against εσομενον of all others (see Blass ad loc.). More important is the omission of 62 (=Mt. xxvi, 75) with abeff²il^{*}r—one of Hort's "non-interpolations" that had hitherto been confined to the geographical

7 157 is a MS. that has suffered from a shower of s interpolation; for several verses at a time all traces of earlier text are swept away. But a comparison with the Egyptian fragments shows that its non-s element is often earlier than had been supposed.

West (see Streeter, p. 323; Turner, in Gore's *Commentary*, p. 727b). At least one other reading is of great value. Although this codex was prone to omit phrases—e.g. 52 om. *καὶ πρεσβυτερουσ* and *καὶ ξυλων*, 53 om. *μεθ υμων* (579 999 O⁹ Sa)—, it is most improbable that the absence of 51 is accidental. Homoeoteleuton (50 *δεξιον*, 51 *αυτον*) is too slight and distant to be a likely cause; and, although this is one of the few Egyptian fragments that show signs of having been carefully corrected by another hand, there is no sign of correction in either text or margin here. This verse alone in the fourfold account of the amputation of the ear records its miraculous restoration; and there are two distinct texts, for *D e a ff*² *r* use language borrowed from Lk. v, 13, and vi, 10, while in *l* this δ text appears after 53 instead of in 52. These phenomena reinforce the argument of J. Weiss that we are dealing with a glossed text. He pointed out that 50 intervenes awkwardly between 49 and 51; and urged that 50, 51b, were a later insertion, whether by Luke or a scribe.⁸ The additional evidence of 0171 renders it, in my opinion, certain that the account of the healing is a scribal insertion in the text of Luke; and Weiss's argument makes it probable that the whole incident of the ear was originally absent from Luke. This is probably the most striking case of the confirmation of New Testament criticism by papyrus discoveries; and it is instructive to note that Weiss's reasoning convinced no continental scholar and was not even mentioned in England: it shared the contemptuous dismissal of Sitzler's emendation of Solon (which was shown to be wholly right in sense and half right in wording by the discovery of the *Αθηραιων Πολιτεια*) and of Professor Housman's brilliant correction of Menander, peric. 123 (accepted "not because it was true and necessary and certain" but because it is in fact the reading of the papyrus). But if the discovery of 0171 arouses melancholy reflections on the persuasive powers of reason, it supports a contention of Hort that found wider

⁸ J. Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar*⁸, Göttingen 1892, p. 631; and *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* i³, Göttingen 1916, p. 500.

acceptance than the argument of Weiss. From time to time tiros have made merry over Hort's acceptance of little from δ except its omissions; but his arguments have carried conviction to most critics. Now here is early confirmation of a similar " δ non-interpolation" which, without any MS. authority for omission, could have been recognized as an intrusion from a logical examination of the context in the light of the parallel narratives. For " δ non-interpolation" it is, and really geographically Western. But one day word travelled to the West that Eastern texts recorded the restoration of the ear; and as the pious patched up Malchus's head, the devout scribe patched up his Western text by a couple of strips of scripture, which in most texts got into the right place, but in *l* slipped a little down the page—another indication, by the way, of that strain of valuable readings which is part of this mixed seventh-century MS.

From the second half of the fourth century we have the evidence of the group of Alexandrian fathers and of W. The fathers used what was in the main a β text but there are traces of θ or δ . Thus Athanasius supports x, 20, *δαιμονια* (D 565 fam. 1 *e f* Sy); xxiv, 42, add. *και απο μελισσιου κηριου* (against $\beta\delta$ Sy^s); and xxiv, 43, add. *και τα ελιποιπα εδωκεν αυτοις* (θ). Cyril read viii, 17, *φανερωθησεται* (fam. 1 157); and xii, 47, om. *ετοιμασας* (P⁴⁵ D 69 Ir Or); and Didymus has a few readings like vi, 46, *λεγετε* (D 28).

Of W there is only space to give the briefest account. Its text of Luke falls into two parts at viii, 12. Up to that point it is strongly β (547 out of 678 important variants, according to Sanders), with many clear cases of δ readings, but very little sign of θ influence. Four cases where Professor Sanders sees the effect of *s* are all explicable as independent harmonization. Two readings of the first hand are corrected to a β standard: v, 25, *παντων* (fam. 13 157; see 124 Sa); vi, 26, *υμιν* ($\delta\theta$). In the later chapters the text is quite different. Out of 1399 readings, 1112 are said to agree with *s*. But many pure δ readings survive. From about the end of the century

we have 0181. It has three new readings: x, 7, om. *εν αυτη δε τη οικια*; 10 *επιερχησθε*; 13 om. *εγενοντο*; and in five cases it agrees with very few other authorities: ix, 62, *ειπεν δε ο ιησους* (P⁴⁵ B 700); 62 om. *αυτου* (B fam. 1 *abql*); x, 4, om. *και* (S* 33 Λ* 28); 6 *εκει η* (B 1012); 13 om. *ει* (P⁴⁵: after *στι*). In x, 1, it has the correct reading *εβδομηκοντα δυο* with (P⁴⁵) B Sa D *eac* Sy^{sc}. The other readings are decidedly nearer to β than to δ or θ; in about forty alternatives it disagrees with WH only four times.

From the fifth century comes *l* 1596 with two practically unique readings: ii, 6, om. *δε* (recurring five hundred years later in *l* 1602); and ii, 19, *εαυτοις* (for *εαυτησ* of S^a R 33). Through the remainder of twenty-nine verses it is pure β with the exception of the spellings *Ναζαρεθ* and *ειδωμεν*, of ii, 14, *ευδοκια*, and of xi, 28, *μενουγγε*. Noteworthy are ii, 2, *Κυριου* (B³ W Sa); 12, om. *το* (B Sa); 13 *ουρανου* (B* Sa D Sy^p); and xi, 27, *φωνη γυνη* (SBL Latt). The twenty-two verses of P⁴ (a lectionary text, although collated by von Soden ε34, from about the end of the fifth century) are pure β with the exception of two agreements with s (v, 3, [*εδι*] *δασκεν* [*εκ του π*] *λοιου*; and vi, 4, *ελα*[*βεν*]), and the trivial special readings: i, 75, [*π*] *ασαισ* [*η*] *μεραισ* *ημ*[*ων*]; 76, *τ*[*ου κυριου*]; v, 3, [*ο*] *λιγον δε καθ*[*ισασ*]; 31, [*προσ*] *αυτον*; 37, *ρηγγυσι*. Noteworthy are i, 78, *επι*[*σκεπεται*](S*BWL Sa Bo Sy^s); v, 39, om. *και* 1^o (S^cB 592 579 700); and the double agreement with B alone in omitting the article before *ιησους* in v, 31, and vi, 3. In vi, 4, this fragment joins BD and Marcion as sole preservers of the possibly correct agreement with Mark, *εισηλθεν* without (*π*)*ωσ*. The contemporary 0182 is chiefly remarkable for an absence of pure β or δ readings, and a slight tendency to agree with s.

From the sixth century we have a lengthy text, Codex Nitriensis (R); and, although it has been published for over seventy years, its affinities are still varyingly estimated. Kenyon (*Handbook*, p. 114) says: "the text is of an early type, belonging to the β-family rather than to its more prevalent rival"; and Lake groups it with the "Neutral and Alexandrian authori-

ties" (*Text of the N.T.* ⁶, p. 96). Von Soden (i p. 1350-1 ε22), on the other hand, reckons it to his *I* group, a comprehensive gathering of authorities that includes δθ; and Streeter records this with some scepticism (p. 56n., 580). The scepticism is justified by von Soden's statement of the case. R is a MS. descended from a tradition that has been largely interpolated from s, and its sole interest lies in its non-s readings. Of these von Soden professed to give a complete list, with the exception of cases where $I=\beta$: after deleting from his collection a considerable number of itacistic variants that prove nothing and 'xxii, 49, om. *αυτω*', which (according to Tregelles and Tischendorf) is false, we are left with 92 non-s readings. These he divides into three sections: (1) *I* readings that are not shared by β—and his third example 'vi, 2, om. *ποιειν*' is true of B P⁴ Sa; (2) unique readings—such as viii, 29, *διαρησσω* (B* C 33 Δ 1241, fam. 1, and eleven others); and (3) pure β readings—of which at least a dozen are in some of his *I* authorities. Here are the facts. I have noted 181 significant readings. Only three are unique: viii, 10, add. *και μη ιδωσιν*; viii, 9, *περι της παραβολης* (see Streeter, p. 567-8: his "probable explanation" is confirmed by the affinities of R); and ix, 37, *συνηνητησαν*. Another ten have little support elsewhere, but include two agreements of interest: xi, 21, om. ο (N* 21); xix, 9, om. *εστιν* (N*L); and one case of imperfect correction to the Antiochean text: xiv, 18, *εξελθων ιδειν β δ θ, εξελθειν ιδ.* R 011, *εξελθειν και ιδ.* 5. Of the remaining 168 readings, 46 are βδθ (with an interesting grouping at xiv, 12, *ανταποδομα σοι βDΘ* only), and are useless for determining relationship. The remaining 122 readings are supported thus: 95 agree with β, 80 with θ, and 33 with δ. The δ support consists of 4 pure δ readings (including v, 2, om. *απ αυτων*; xi, 12, *ων αιτησαι* DU; xiv, 33, om. *πασιν*); 18 βδ (including xiv, 28, *εισ απαρτισμον βδς, προσ απ. θ*); and 11 δθ (including in this figure viii, 9, om. *αυτου* W 700 *abff*²; and xx, 6, where *απας* agrees with β but the order *απας ο λαος* with δθς). Pure θ readings occur 12 times (I include xviii, 5, *κοπονουσ* N ① 1 fam. 13; xxi, 20, *γινωσκετε* W fam. 1 Eus.; xii, 42 *αυτοις* Sa 28 fam. 13;

viii, 26, κατεπλευσεν [add. ο ιησουσ[Ⓢ] 472] W[Ⓢ] 472); and there are no fewer than 57 cases of βθ. The 95 agreements with β are made up as follows: 18 βδ, 57 βθ, and 20 pure β (e.g. xiv, 26, ει τε και B 33 L; xxiii, 3, ηρωτησεν B^{NT}). It is evident that R should be classed with the θ texts and not with β. Apart from the dozen pure θ readings, it has a decided θ-like "oscillation between β and δ." Of the total 181 non-s variants the following proportions support the chief groups: 44% δ, 70% θ, and 78% β. R is, in my judgment, descended from a MS. of the type of P⁴⁵ in Mark, where there is an unexpectedly large agreement with s, and a rather larger swing towards β than we find in many θ texts. I have dealt with it in this summary fashion because its intrinsic value is small, and because, so far as I know, there is no certainty that it was written in Egypt—it may have been one of the volumes brought to the convent of S. Maria Deipara by Moses of Nisibis in A.D. 932.

There are three other fragments from the sixth century. In l 1601 the only noteworthy variant is ix, 41, τον υιον σου ωδε (δs). 0177 is strongly β (e.g. i, 78, επισκεπεται with β Sy⁸), but it has one pure s reading and one δs. Three rare readings are i, 76, ενωπιον (SB WP⁴ Bo Or); 77 αμαρτιων αυτου (W 130 565); and ii, 2, Κυριου (B³W l 1596 Sa). The third fragment is from a lectionary (P³); it is strongly β though nearer to s than to B, and only has three divergences from this group: vii, 40, ειπεν ο ιησουσ (WΞ); 44 om. σου; x, 38, εγενετο δε εν (sW).

In A.D. 616 Thomas of Harkel noted in his margin that certain words or phrases that appeared in his Syriac text of Luke were not to be found in "all" of the [three] Greek MSS. he was comparing. Eight of these notes have come down to us. Mrs. New (now Mrs. Lake) concludes from these notes that he had no MS. of the type of the Codex Bezae.⁹ This is supported by the statement that xx, 34, "*gignunt et gignuntur . . . in graeco non est*," for D alone of Greek MSS. contains this clause. But it is, I think, contradicted by three of

⁹ *Harvard Theological Review*, 21, 1928, p. 394.

the other seven notes. In xix, 38, *εὐλογημενος βασιλευς ισραηλ* is said not to be in "all," therefore presumably in at least one, of Thomas's Manuscripts: actually it is so found only in 157 Eth, but it appears as *εὐλογημενος ο βασιλευς* in D *acff²rif*. The addition of Mt. xxi, 12b, in Lk. xix, 45, which is similarly not in "all" his MSS., occurs only in D and five minuscules, none of which has up to the present been claimed for β or θ; and in ix, 23, *καθ ημεραν* ("not in all") is found in βθ but omitted by *Dabce* and many. The only other type of MS. that can be definitely traced is one akin to the θ texts, for Thomas apparently found Greek authority for viii, 24, *γαληνη μεγαλη* (θ ΨΔ Bo, 157) and for viii, 52, *τον κορασιον* (θ, 33 Sa Bo). The Bohairic version maintains its character in Luke; genuine non-β readings are rare, except where s has influenced the later MSS. From about the seventh century comes the well-known Graeco-Coptic fragment T. Its extent has been increased by recent discovery and the manuscript at present consists of 0139 (ε1002) + 0113 (ε50) + T (029, ε5) + 0125 (ε99) + two leaves in the Morgan collection.¹⁰ T is a primary β authority. Its quality cannot be better revealed than by a collation of the unpublished Morgan leaves with von Soden's reconstruction of β (*H*). T diverges seven times, and I add (except in v. 36) the whole support these vagaries receive: xviii, 10 om. ο 1^o (BD and 4 others); 12 *αποδεκατενω* (8 *B); 13 *εαυτου* (B and 2 others); 14 *εαντον* (BL^c and 2 others); 35 *εισ ιεριχω αυτον*; 36 om. *αν* (B8 WΔs); 40 om. ο (BD and another). In the other fragments von Soden notes fourteen divergences from *H*: six are found in B and another two in L. Of the four remaining authorities from the seventh century three are worthless for our purpose, 0118 (really a patristic extract), O²¹, and the paraphrase of Lk. ii, 4-14, printed by Gregory, *Textkritik*, p. 1376. More interesting is the series of ostraca at

¹⁰ See the late Mgr. Hebbelynck, *Les Manuscrits coptes-sahidiques du Monastère Blanc : II Les Fragments des Evangiles*, from *Le Muséon* 1912, p. 68-72. I am indebted to Professor Hyvernât for the loan of rotographs of the Morgan leaves: in Greek they contain Lk. xviii, 10-16, 32-43.

Cairo (formerly 0153, now O1²⁰). It has a β text with such readings as: om. xxii 43 f. (β fam. 13 Sy^s f, ? Marcion); 55 περιψαντων (β Eus); 55 μεσοσ (β fam. 1). It even partakes of some of the faults of β (e.g. 61 ρηματος, ex Mt. Mk.). But it avoids some strongly β readings such as 66 ειπε (ειπον β Θ), 71 χρειαν εχομεν μαρτυριας (ε.μ.χ. BLT). The few other divergences from β are unimportant, but suggest a slight ς influence.

To the latter part of the eighth century I assign 070 (formerly T^{woi}). Like T, this bilingual text has been enlarged by subsequent discovery; and it now consists of nearly forty leaves scattered between Oxford, London, Paris, and Vienna.¹¹ Its text is usually assigned to β , and there is no doubt that such a verdict would have pleased those responsible for the text. When Professor Burkitt noted the agreement in error in x, 24, between the ακουσαι μου of B and the ακουσαι πον of 070,¹² he was exhibiting the response that 070 was designed to produce. The interesting thing about the MS. is that it is possible to prove that it is the result of deliberate textual revision. This is suggested by the large number of non- β readings (e.g. xxi, 38, ακουειν αυτου εν τω ιερω De; xxiii, 53, the "Homeric" addition already noticed in SaDc; xxiv, 2, instead of ευρον δε, 070 reads και ινεσ συν αυταις ελογιζοντο δε εν αυταις τις αρα αποκυλισει ημιν [om. cett.] τον λιθον ελθουσαι δε ευρον with SaDc l 1602). It is demonstrated by instances of unintelligent revision, of which I adduce three. In x, 27, β D fam. 1 read και εν ολη τη ψυχη σου και εν ολη τη ισχυι σου και εν ολη τη διανοια σου (D om. the last clause), while in each clause ς has εξ ολησ with the genitive: 070 has και εν ολη τη ψυχη σου και εξ ολησ της ισχυι σου και εν ολη τη διανοιας σου. A reviser corrected eight letters of a text that agreed with ς , but missed four. In xii, 56, ς has

¹¹ A reconstruction by Dr. Craster, Bodley's Librarian, and myself is still unpublished; but a statement of results may be found in von Dobschütz's article in *Z.N.T.W.* 32 (1933) p. 189 f.

¹² *Op. cit.* (n. 2 *supra*), p. viii f. We now know that we are probably not dealing with a mere error of B, for it is the reading of the Sa'idic; but this only links B more effectively still to Upper Egypt.

ου δοκιμαζετε, but β^Θ have ουκ οιδατε δοκιμαζειν; 070 reads ουκ οιδατε δοκιμαζεται. For the βαρυνθωσιν of δθς at xxi, 34, β and others have βαρηθωσιν; the η was written over the υν in an ancestor of 070, and it has βαρηνηθωσιν. The whole of 070 is intelligible on the hypothesis that it represents an "Eastern non-β text" partially corrected to a β standard. It is valuable evidence for this ecclesiastical treatment of the early Egyptian texts; but probably its worth would have been greater, if there had been less β in it. It is tantalizing to find it sharing in such correct readings as xi, 33, om. ουδε υπο τον μοδιον (P⁴⁵L 700 fam. 1 69 Sy^s).

From the ninth or tenth century we have only *l* 143, which tells us nothing, and *l* 1603. This is a *s* text with only four minor divergences: xiv, 26, μητερα without την; 27 και ος (D Valent. apud Iren); 29 ισχυοντοσ και (cf. De); 31 βουλευ[σ]ε-ται (NB 1241 ⊕ abff²q).

In striking contrast with this is *l* 1602 from about the tenth century. It retains a far earlier text than that current in its own day. There are occasional pure β readings like xxiv, 1, ηλθον φερονσαι (S BL 070 only); but the surviving δ readings are numerous: e.g. the spelling ελισταβεθ in chapter i; in xxiv, 1f., it has the addition from Mk. xvi, 3, noted above in 070 (070 Sa Dc); 4 om. και 2^ο (070 Sa Dac Sy); 19 ενωπιον (D 579); 33 [λυπ]ουμενοι (Sa Dce); 39 σαρκας (S* D Iren.). Doubtless in most instances the Sa'idic has been the preservative agency in the bilingual lectionary; but it confirms the impression derived from 070 that the revision to β was often a perfunctory affair. From about the same period is *l* 961. It has, on the whole, a β text; but with a rather unusually large proportion of readings that have little support elsewhere. But I have only noticed these suggestions of special δ affinities: vii, 48, προστην γυναικα (e Sy^{c.vg}); and xxiv, 10, μαρια η μαγδαληνη (*l* 1602 Sa Bo 579 D). In xv, 17, it reads the singular αρτου with 565.

The latest of our fragments of Luke, *l* 964 of about the thirteenth century, has a β text. Its most noteworthy reading is i, 42, κρανγη (BWL 579 *l* 1602 Ξ Or.).

V.

The Fourth was the favourite Gospel in Egypt, and the number of textual fragments is correspondingly large. But it so happens that the quotations in Clement, our earliest authority, are not much more plentiful than his recognizable references to Mark. Perhaps even more than in the other Gospels the most striking feature of these quotations is their frequent agreement with a few early authorities for each of the main groups—definite $\beta\delta\theta$ readings. There are five geographically Western readings (including iii, 29, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\sigma$ D; and xv, 1, $\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\nu\nu$, cf. D); and there are an interesting number of variants involving the Old Syriac: i, 4, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ (\aleph Sa D *e ab* Sy^c: known to Or); vii, 18, om. $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\sigma$ (Bo Eth *e* Sy). In vi, 49, instead of $\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\nu\nu\alpha$ Clement read $\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\iota\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$; Sy^c had $\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$; Deabr have both $\mu\alpha\nu\nu\alpha$ and $\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$. Clement's usual reading in i, 18, was $\omicron\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon\omicron\sigma$ as in β and probably surviving from some form of Sy^{vt} into the Peshitta and Harclean margin (the earliest form of Sy^{vt} probably had simply [\omicron] $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma$); Clement agrees with \aleph^c 33 against \aleph^*BC in having the article. In i, 23, he agrees with Bo Sy^c alone in reading $\varphi\omega\nu\eta\beta\omicron\omega\sigma\alpha$; and in viii, 34, he probably preserves the true reading, om. $\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha\sigma$, with Db Sy^s Cyprian. He has about half a dozen instances of a phenomenon that is very frequent in John, the combination of a few MSS. that usually offer the β text with one or more θ witnesses: e.g. i, 3, $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\nu$ (\aleph^*l 963 Sa D fam. 13 Or); viii, 35, om. $\omicron\upsilon\iota\omicron\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\iota\omega\nu\alpha$ (\aleph W 124). An agreement with B^{*} Eus Ath Chrys, i, 13, om. $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\sigma$ may be accidental; but chance is hardly responsible for ii, 19, $\omicron\nu\alpha\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\omega\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\theta\eta$ (W Diat^{ar}).

We are in a happier position for the investigation of the Coptic versions of the Fourth Gospel than we are elsewhere. This is due to the discovery of important remains of Middle Egyptian texts. Philologically some of these texts are more primitive than the Sa'idic, but they are probably to be arranged geographically rather than chronologically; Fayumic, Achmimic, Sub-Achmimic, and Sa'idic, were probably all essentially inde-

pendent dialects in different neighbourhoods until Sa'idic drove the others from the field about the sixth century, and later was itself swept away by the Bohairic. For our present purpose the important thing is that our fragments (apart from the Bohairic MSS.) seem to represent varying dialectical forms of one version. This has become increasingly clear since the discovery of a well-preserved papyrus codex ("Q") from c. A.D. 370 containing almost the whole Gospel in Sub-Achmimic; and within the limits of my space I confine myself to the most important points raised by Sir Herbert Thompson's excellent edition. The editor has tabulated 110 variations from the later Sa'idic MSS. In some cases Q has preserved the correct reading where Sa is corrupt; but others are due to difference of Greek original. The main stream of Q and Sa is β , but Q has a larger non- β element. Two instances pointed out by Sir Herbert Thompson suggest that this element has been diminished before Q was written: in vii, 10, it has $\epsilon\iota\sigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\rho\tau\eta\nu$ both before $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ (β Sa) and after $\alpha\nu\epsilon\beta\eta$ (δ Sy^{sc} s); and in xiii, 18, it conflates $\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$ (β) with $\mu\epsilon\tau\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$ (WD . . .). In each case it is more probable that the reading left in the later Sa MSS. is the intruder; we thus have slight traces of a revision towards β . (In xvi, 20, Q has $\kappa\lambda\alpha\nu\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\rho\eta\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\nu\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$: see Sy^s and Δ^c 124). Where the β witnesses are in conflict, Q goes with B and W twice as often as with \aleph . What is more surprising is that in a third of the cases where Q is opposed by the later MSS. of Sa, it has the support of the Bohairic version. There is not space to discuss the full bearing of this: probably the explanation is complex—Bo is both an earlier translation and contains earlier readings than is currently supposed. In some ways the most curious grouping of authorities in connexion with Q is at ix, 38 f., where $\omicron\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\phi\eta\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\omega\ \kappa\nu\rho\iota\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\kappa\nu\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\nu\tau\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu\ \omicron\ \iota\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\varsigma$ is omitted with \aleph^*Wb and except for $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\kappa\nu\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\nu\tau\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ with l^* . Mr. Hoskier has suggested that this variant may be connected with the fact that in some lectionary systems a new pericope begins at ix, 39. There are a few other omissions with δ texts. As

the beginning of Q is lost, we cannot tell what reading it had at i, 18; the later Sa MSS. have "God, the only son" for the phrase *ο μονογενης υιος* or *θεος*, where the position of "God" and the vernacular, non-theological, rendering of *μονογενης* suggest that *θεος* is an intrusion from β. The Pericope de adultera is absent from Q and the later Sa MSS., as in all early Eastern tradition; so far as I know, the only trace of it in Sa is on the British Museum ostrakon published by Hall.¹³

According to Dr. Streeter (p. 96, 100), so long as Origen was working on his commentary on John, whether in Alexandria or Caesarea, he continued to use a β text, and one that was nearer to B than to Σ. At the same time he had access to a θ text, for he quotes xix, 16, with *και επεθηκαν αυτω τον σταυρον*, which is known here only in fam. 13 and Sy^{pa}. Origen also knew i, 4, *εστιν* (Σ Sa Deab Sy^c). There is an important point in i, 28, where *βηθαβαρα* is the reading of Origen with fam. 169 Sy^{sc} Sa and the correctors of ΣC. Professor Burkitt rightly repudiates the suggestion that Origen is responsible for this reading wherever it is found; but I cannot follow him in his claim that Origen's source seems to have been not documentary evidence, but local identification.¹⁴ Origen's words are, *οτι μεν σχεδον εν πασι τοις αντιγραφοις κειται ταυτα εν βηθανια εγενετο, ουκ αγνοουμεν . . .*; which surely implies that he did find *βηθαβαρα* in a few MSS., and approved it after topographical research.

The comparatively small surviving portion of P⁴⁵ in John is definitely nearer to δ than to β; and it is so, not only in small variants (as are so many of the early fragments), but also in some conspicuous departures from β. Such readings are x, 11, *διδωσιν* (Σ *D ? Sy^s: *επιδωσιν* Clem: cf. 15 *διδωμι* P⁴⁵ Σ*WD); xi, 7, om. *τοις μαθηταις (αυτου)* *ελ*; 33 *τους ιουδαιους*

¹³ H. R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from ostraca, stelae, etc. of the British Museum*, London 1905, p. 27, Pl. 20.

¹⁴ *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, Cambridge 1904, ii p. 308 f.; *Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names* (Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. v), London 1912, p. 11 f.

κλαιοντας τους συνελθλυθοτας αυτηι (vid) D (μετ αυτης), *eab*; 45 εωρακοτες *Dabfr*; 47 om. *στι* D; 51 om. του ενιαντου εκεινου *e Sy^{sc}*; 52 εσκορπισμενα D 700. The omissions in xi, 7, and xi, 51, might be due to the skipping of two lines in an ancestor; and the omission of xi, 25, και η ζωη, might similarly be due to the loss of one line; but I think this is not so; all the omissions have other support, and in particular I think that in the last case P⁴⁵ has probably preserved the true text with (?a) *l Sy^s* Cyprian (the support is unnoticed by Kenyon). As edited xi, 6, gives an unusually short line; I think there was probably a conflate reading *επι τωι τοπ[ωι εν ωι ην]*, where *εν ωι ην* comes as an intrusion from anywhere except D. Kenyon thinks that in John Θ goes with β; this is hardly supported by such agreements as this: xi, 33 f., *εταραχθη τωι πνευματι ως εμβριμουμενος και λεγει* P⁴⁵ DΘ *fam. 1*. Pure β readings are very few and trivial, e.g. x, 19, om *ονν*; but x, 18, *ηρεν* *8*B l 1602* is noteworthy. There are several readings with little support elsewhere, such as xi, 22, *αιτησησ* W*Sy^s*. The most important unique lections are these: x, 35, om *η γραφη* but add *εν τη γραφηι* before *εν τωι νομωι* in the previous verse (? a gloss misplaced in the ordinary text and wrongly incorporated in P⁴⁵); 35 om. *προσ θυσ ο λογοσ εγενετο του θεου* (27 letters); xi, 43, *δευρο ελθε εξω* (*ελθε* a gloss); and 44 *εδεδετο* (compare Vg. *erat ligata*).

There are two other third century texts. P⁵ is extremely fragmentary, and very difficult to evaluate. Of pure δ readings I can find i, 34, *ο εκλεκτοσ του θεου* (*8* e Sy^{sc}*); 35 om. *παλιν* (*er Sy*); xvi, 26, om. *περι νμων* uid. (*ebc*). Doubtfully pure β readings are i, 30, *υπερ* (*B8*WC**); and xvi, 19, *ιησουσ* (*BWL*). For the rest, its mixed readings appear to be decidedly nearer to δ than to β, and there is no suggestion of continuous agreement with the usual θ texts. From near the end of the century comes P²², which only leaves WH four times: xvi, 22, *αιρει* (all except BD*Γacff^{2r}*); 23 *στι εαν αιτησητε* (AW 145); 23 *εν τω ονοματι μου δωσει υμιν* (C³WΨ 33 579 δθs); 28 *παρα* (*8 s*). In other eight variants it agrees with β.

Four fragments have been assigned to the fourth century, apart from a scrap of the Vulgate in Aberdeen University Library (Pap. 2a), in rustic capitals from about the end of the century, with no variants. The only point worth notice in T⁸ is ii, 1, *τη τριτη ημερα* (B l 1601 © fam. 13). P³⁹ is a very mutilated scrap of a handsome MS.: Professor Sanders states that it twice leaves β, but I do not see that it ever does so, although at viii, 14, *η μαρτυρια μου αληθησ εστιν*, β support drops to BW^a Sa (157). P²⁸, however, has more δ affinity: vi, 22, *ιδεν* (SD *b c f f*² Arm); 11 *εδωκεν* (S 579, D 69 *ebqr*); 17 *ου* Sy^{sc} s. There is one β reading of doubtful purity: 17 *προσ αντους εληλυθει* (BΨ 579 N only). Except for the unique omission of 19, *τον*, other readings agree with β. 0162 has been specially studied by Bover.¹⁵ It is more strongly β, and is only once definitely δ: ii, 12, *ταυτα* (*bf tol* 124*). Typical readings are: ii, 12, *καφαρναουμ* (β [D]); 12 *αδελφοι* without *αυτον* (BΨL *eac* Or); 15 *τα κερματα* (β *bq* Or Eus). The support of β is weakest at 15 *ωσ φραγγελιον* (W 33 L, 565 fam. 1, *ab* Sy^{hel.mg} Or Cyr). The fourth-century fathers have, as usual, a text that in the main agrees with β, but with occasional suggestions of other affinities. Thus Athanasius has xvi, 33, *εξετε* (D fam. 13); viii, 40 *πατροσ* for *θεου* (with 1241, © fam. 13, Arm Or); vi, 38, add *πατροσ* (D 700 . . . *eab* Sy^{sc}). Didymus read *θεοσ* in i, 18, but apparently prefixed the article (against B^s*C*L); and in iii, 13, he seems to have omitted *ο ων εν τω ουρανω* (a thoroughly β reading); but we cannot say much about his Johannine text. From the first half of the century comes the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis.¹⁶ Twice i, 18, is quoted with *ο μονογενησ θεοσ* (β Sy Clem); and once xx, 23, with *εαν* 1° (D 124 Cyr. Jer.). In the same verse *αφιενται* cannot carry conviction in an eleventh century MS. A quotation in Shenute differs from the current Sa'idic text three times in xv, 6: the omission of *και εξηρανθη* is unimpor-

¹⁵ *Estudios Eclesiasticos*, Madrid, ix (1930), p. 306-15, 318-9.

¹⁶ Ed. G. Wobbermin, *Texte und Untersuchungen* N.F. ii, 3b, Leipzig 1899; and F. E. Brightman, *J.T.S.*, i (1899-1900), p. 88-113, 247-277.

tant, but *εκβλήθησεται* is the reading of 579 and (more important) of the Sub-Achmimic Q, while *αυτο* is in L 33, D 565 fam. 1 fam. 13, *e* Sy^s.

The Freer MS. (W) once again divides into two parts; but this time the physical cause is obvious. At some time the first quire of John must have been damaged, for its place has been taken by a substitute written apparently in the seventh century. In this place, therefore, I have merely to record the main facts about Jn. v, 12, to the end. Professor Sanders states that of 1307 readings in this part of the MS., 840 are certainly and 147 possibly β . Only 8 point towards ς ; and all are slight, the most notable being vi, 15, om. *παλιν* (with Sy^s among others), while 5 appear in θ texts and another is in *a*. Sanders rightly regards them as readings that influenced sub-recensions of ς rather than as cases of ς influence on W. From ix, and especially from xiv on, "the variants show a decided trend toward \aleph and away from BL." Of the remaining 313 readings, 72 avoid lections regarded by Sanders as due to "the editor of the β text." In the remaining non- β readings the most remarkable feature is the increasing agreement with \aleph 579 Sa in xiv-xxi, and the corresponding decrease in agreement with Sy^{vt}.

In mentioning the Bohairic of the Synoptic Gospels I have silently acquiesced in the customary assignment of this version to the seventh century; but emboldened by the evidence of the Sub-Achmimic codex, I venture to place it a couple of centuries earlier in writing of the Fourth Gospel. It is impossible on the evidence at present available to date it with exactness;¹⁷ but I feel reasonably certain that the seventh century is too late. In John as in the other Gospels, the text of the version has had a history of its own. The best MSS. omit vii, 53—viii, 11, but it is found in the text or the margin of various

¹⁷ The argument of Mr. H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Date of the Bohairic Version*, London 1911, could be used to prove that a printed copy of Erasmus's New Testament lay before the editors of the Peshitta.

MSS. in three forms. One is near the Greek, without the peculiarities of D; another is stated to be from the Syriac; and the third is perhaps from the Arabic (and therefore ultimately from the Syriac). From Horner's figures (iii, p. 388) it appears that the Sa'idic agrees twice as often as the Bohairic with \aleph B against the rival coptic version; and undoubtedly a large part of the non- β element (which is not so very great, after all has been said) is due to assimilation of the text of this popular Gospel to current texts in the centuries before our surviving MSS. But there is an appreciable element belonging neither to β nor to ς , and going back to the oldest texts that we know.

Turning to Greek evidence from the fifth century, T⁴ tells us nothing, but in l 1043 we have perhaps the earliest of a characteristic series of lectionary fragments. It has four pure β readings (I include xx, 17, *απτον μου* B l 1602 Tert); one $\beta\delta$ (18 *εωρακα* B \aleph W Sa Bo, a Sy^s); and two $\beta\theta$ (11 *εξω κλαιουσα*; 18 *μαριαμ* β 565 fam. 1). Typical of these texts are: 4, *και επρεχον* (\aleph^* l 1602); 25 *μου τον δακτυλον* (\aleph W 33 L l 965 l 1602 D only). There are slight traces of revision in the text (more pronounced ones will meet us very soon): 11, *προσ το μνημειω* has perhaps arisen from an imperfect correction of *προσ το μνημειον* (ς) to *προσ τω μνημειω* ($\beta\delta\theta$); 17 om. *ο ιησους* may be due to an attempt to introduce the reading of B Ψ L D, who omit the article; and I cannot help thinking that a too large mark of erasure in an ancestor has turned 10, *προσ εαυτους* (*αυτους* B \aleph^* 56) *οι μαθηται* into *προσ τους μαθητ[ας]*. Cyril of Alexandria used a β text (e.g. i, 52, om. *απαρτι*; ii, 17, om. *δε*); and such deviations as there are rarely go beyond the order of words. Perhaps the clearest instance is xi, 8, *ιουδαιοι λιθασαι* (579, Θ 565 fam. 1 fam. 13 and 10 others). The most noticeable feature in o68 is a couple of pure ς readings: xvi, 13, *εις πασαν την αληθειαν*; 18 *τουτο τι εστιν*. Out of six of the other more outstanding variants only two leave ς : xiii, 19, *πιστευητε οταν γενηται* (β *eab*); and 23 *εκ των* ($\beta\delta$: om. *εκ* ς); while two others were probably derived from the Antiochian text: xiii, 20, *ο δε εμε λαμβ.* ($\beta\varsigma$); xvi, 12, *λεγειν υμιν* (D ς).

From the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century come two fragments, 060 and P⁶. The former leaves β only in three minute details. The nearest approach to a δ reading is xiv, 20, om. $\epsilon\nu$ ι° uid. (*Wa*), unless we count 16 $\mu\epsilon\theta$ $\nu\mu\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma$ $\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\iota\omega\nu\alpha\eta$ (*Bb* only); while it avoids two important δ readings. It is nearer to *B* than to \aleph . P⁶ has laboured under a misfortune. It is part of the famous Strassburg papyrus codex that contains the first epistle of Clement in Achmimic. Gregory heard of it from Carl Schmidt, and Julius Euting copied three lines of Greek for him, which he printed in his *Textkritik*, p. 1085-6. It has been assumed that those three lines were all of the Greek Gospels that the codex contained; and every list of Biblical papyri describes P⁶ as "Strassburg, Pap. copt. 351r+335v, Jn. xi, 15." It should read "Strassburg, Pap. copt. 379-384, Jn. x, 1f., 4-7, 9f.; xi, 1-8, 45-52." All the texts in the codex were published by Rösch.¹⁸ The Greek Gospel extracts are hardly β , although xi, 2, $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu$ is only found in *B* 33, and the omission of $\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota\sigma$ (uid.) in x, 7, only in *B* \aleph^* and a cursive. But it avoids several β readings and at least eight θ ones. Yet the most outstanding reading is θ : xi, 5, $[την\tau\epsilon]\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\mu\alpha\rho\theta\alpha\nu$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\eta\nu$ $\alpha\nu\tau\eta\sigma$ exactly represents *Sa*^{MS} 69 *Bo*^{2MSS} *Arm* (*Q*, some *MSS*. of *Sa*, most of *Bo*, and *Eth*, transpose the names), and is almost identical with $\tau\eta\nu$ (+ $\tau\epsilon$ Θ) $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\eta\nu$ $\alpha\nu\tau\eta\sigma$ $\mu\alpha\rho\theta\alpha\nu$ of Θ 700 *fam.* 1 *fam.* 13 *l* 258. Another agreement with *Sa* occurs in x, 5, $\tau\eta\nu$ $\varphi\omega\nu\eta\nu$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\iota\omega\nu$, but this time without Greek support.

Two papyrus texts are assigned to the sixth century. P² is very brief but shows two $\beta\delta$ readings. P³⁶ is longer, but some of the deductions to be drawn from it are uncertain. I can identify no pure readings. It has the δ non-interpolation in iii, 31. In 16 it omits $\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ with *B* \aleph^* *W*, but in 18 it has $\delta\epsilon$

¹⁸ F. Rösch, *Bruckstücke des 1. Clemensbriefe nach dem achmimischen Papyrus der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek*, Strassburg 1910; see p. xxvii, 119-60. Rösch assigned it to the middle or end of the fifth century; but Carl Schmidt (*Der Erste Clemensbrief*, Leipzig 1908, p. 5) dates it seventh or eighth century.

against B⁸W Or. In 16[?επ] αὐτῶ seems to agree with L; and two unique readings are 18 [? ηδη εἰς το] ὄνομα; and 31, om. ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐστὶν καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλεῖ (om. ἐκ--καὶ W gl Tert Or, Blass).¹⁹

More certainly *l* 1276 agrees with β, avoiding θ and δ readings (except that it may omit οὐν in xx, 11, with *e* Bo *l* 1602) and the peculiarities of Σ (but in 11 μαρίαμ with ΣΨ 33 565 fam. 1). It has two abbreviations of the ordinary text: 13, for σὶ ηῖραν τὸν κυρίον μου καὶ οὐκ οἶδα it has . . . [τ]ὸν κν μου . . . | .οἶδα; and in 15 it omitted τινα ζητεῖς. The Greek text in the British Museum Middle Egyptian leaves (o86) is another intricate problem. It has four pure δ readings (e.g. iii, 28, om. ἐγὼ WDaCyp Sy^c); and two pure θ readings and two pure β. No single reading is outstanding; and its special readings are unimportant. On the whole it has none of the idiosyncracies of β MSS. or groups; and should be classed as a weak θ text, with no pronounced inclination to either β or δ.

P⁴⁴ is from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. It has one βδθ reading, which it shares with P⁴⁵, x, 13, om. τα προβατα ο δε μισθωτοσ φενγει; one apparently β reading, ix, 4, ωσ uid WC* 33 L o7o; and one less usual

¹⁹ To give a specimen that will enable the reader to unravel some of the affinities of these texts, I transcribe P³⁶ from *Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei Papyri greci e latini in Egitto: Papyri greci e latini i*, Florence 1912, No. 3; and I subjoin Professor Sanders' diagnosis. Jn. iii, 14-17: καὶ καθὼς [μῶνυσεν ὑψώσεν] | τὸν οφιν [ἐν τῇ ἐρημῳ οὐτῶς] | ὑψώθη[ν] [αὶ δει τὸν ὕν του ἀνδῶ] | ἵνα πασ ο [πιστευων . . .] | ἐχῇ ζῶν [αἰωνιον οὐτῶς γαρ] | ἡγαπήσ[εν ο θς τον κοσμον ὡς] | τε τον υιον [τον μονογενῇ] | ἐδωκεν [ἵνα πασ ο πιστευων] | αὐτῳ μὴ ἀποληται ἀλλ' ἐχῇ | ζῶν α | ἱ[ωνιον . . .]; 17-18: [ἀπεστείλε ν ο θς τον | υιον εἰς τον κοσ[μ]ον ἵνα | [κρινῇ τον κοσμον ἀλ' λ' ἵνα | [σῶθῃ ο κοσμος δι αυτο]ν ο πιστεῖ | [ὡν εἰς αὐτον οὐ κρινεταὶ ο δε | [μὴ πιστευων εἰς το] ὄνομα | [κεκριται οτι μὴ πεπ[ι]στευκῇ | [εἰς το ὄνομα του μο[ν]ογενο[υ]ς]; 31-2: ἐπ[αν] ὡ παντων ἐστὶν ο ὡν | ἐκ τῆς [γῆς ο ἐκ του δῶνδῶ] | ἐρχομ[ε]νος ἐπ[αν] παντων | ἐστὶν [ὁ ἐώρακεν καὶ ἠκούσεν] | τουτο μαρ[τυρεῖ]. Sanders' apportionment of the readings is (*Harvard Theological Review* xxvii, 1933, p. 90): special 2, δ 3, β 1; δβ 1; δβθ 1, δθς 1, βθς 1, Egyptian 1 giving as totals: δ 6, β 4, θ 3, s 2. (Egyptian means "found in one Alexandrian MS. only.")

one (x, 10, περισσοτερον l 1602 579, 69, and a few others). Of the same age is l 1601 containing ii, 1-9. It is a β text, avoiding five readings of \aleph and also 1 τη τριτη ημερα of B Θ fam. 13. The only special readings are: 1, om. γαμος, if I have deciphered the palimpsest correctly; and 8, om. οι δε ηνεγκαν (X).

At the beginning of the seventh century we again have the work of Thomas of Harkel; but this time we are not so happily situated. In a study such as this, which is trying to present a view, not of the details of the various fragments, but of the general types of Greek texts current in Egypt, the long notes in which Thomas refers to the Greek MSS. he used provide admirable clues. Unfortunately there are apparently no such notes extant for the Fourth Gospel; and I am thrown back on the variants that he had noted without stating their source. They are almost certainly not all from Greek MSS., for Thomas seems to have used also a copy of the Old Syriac version. A selection of the more important ones show two agreements with β (i, 18 [ο] μονογενης θεος ; xiii, 26, λαμβανει και) ; less obviously β is ii, 15, ως φραγελλιον (W 33 L, 565 fam. 1, N, ba); and still further away is ii, 2, οινον ουκ ειχον οτι συνετελεσθη ο οινος του γαμου. ειπα (\aleph^* abff²r Eth). A noteworthy correct reading is the placing of xviii, 24, after 13; but we cannot say whence Thomas derived it, for although it is excessively rare, it occurs in Sy^s and as a correction in Sy^{pal} on the one hand and in Cyril of Alexandria on the other. The material at Thomas's disposal appears to have been singularly varied. (A curious coincidence in error is i, 28, βηθαβαβα \aleph^{cb} only, for βηθαβαρα).

Professor Sanders summarizes the facts about the first and substitutionary quire of W thus. Of 225 important variants, 90 agree or partially agree with β : 41 agree with ς , but all have other support; 65 find support among the versions, and have no adequate β or ς support. Of these last 65, 8 are in θ texts, and 9 occur in \aleph ; but the main affinities are with the Old Latin (35): 28 readings are unique. I should regard it as a θ type, on the whole approaching β (it is nearer to CL than to any other MSS.), but swinging over to δ (D is missing for i-iii). There are two interesting agreements with quotations: ii, 20,

ο ναος ουτος οικοδομηθη (Clem Diat^{ar}); and i, 23, add. *ευθιασ ποιειτε τας τριβας αυτου* (e Or Ambrose). O²² offers nothing of interest; but the Cairo ostraca (O¹⁷⁻²⁰) clearly have a β text with θ tendencies. It has xviii, 21, *ερωτας ερωτησον* (β); but 20 *ελαλησα* (Ds) and *τη συναγωγη* (565 fam. 1). Noteworthy are xix, 16, *οι δε παραλαβοντες τον ιησουν απηγαγον* (W 579 Sa M: cf. Ⲣ θ); i, 4, *και ζωη* (Clem Or.) The unique readings seem to be mere blunders. οιοι has three variants: i, 29, om. ο *ιωαννης* (βδς); 30 *περι (υπερ ΒⲢ*W)*; 32 *ωσει (ωσ βθ)*. D is absent here, but so far as I can see this fragment may be pure δ. As in Luke so in John T is a strong β text, omitting v, 3b, 4, and iii, 13, *ων εντω ουρανω*. When β disintegrates T only once goes with Ⲣ almost alone (v1, 37, *εμε* 2^o: Ⲣ ΔΘ); and it goes with B in error (v, 2, *βηθσαιδα*: W Sa Bo, Sy^{hcl} Eth c), as well as in truth. It has affinities with both parts of W (e.g., iii, 15, *εν αυτω*: BW and six more; vii, 28, om. ο: B^cW). There are no pure δ readings; and the most obviously θ one is vii, 41, *αλλοι δε* (Sa Bo, Θ 565 fam. 1, fam. 13).

Towards (perhaps in) the eighth century we have οιογ. This again is a β text with six pure β readings, and no certain pure δ or θ. Thrice it agrees with a single MS.; xviii, 39, om. *εν* (B); xvi, 30, *γνωσκομεν* (33: ex xvii, 3); xvii, 2, *δωσω* (Ⲣ*); and at xvii, 6, *τετηρηκαν* is in BLWD alone. Curiously its two corrections contradict each other: xvi, 32, *και εμε* changed to *καμε* (β 565 fam. 1); and xvii, 6, *καμοι* (B 33 fam. 1 only) to *και εμοι*. Out of eight variants in οι27, one leaves β (ii, 6, tr. *κειμεναι* post εξ: l 1602); and in the previous verse *στι ο αν* agrees with Ⲣ 592 l 1602 (see W etc.). In οι14 are one β and one agreement with W alone (xx, 6, *και ο σιμων*); and also one avoidance of a pure β (xx, 10 hab. *εαντουσ*). Typical of the bilingual lectionaries are the two variants in l 143: xx, 30 *μαθητων αυτου* (l 965 against β l 1602); 31, *αιωνιον* (Ⲣ Sa δ).

The bilingual ο70 is a β text less valuable for itself than for traces of its descent. Pure β readings (like viii, 38, om. *μου*, and ix, 11, *στι*) are rare; although there are some agreements with secondary β texts (e.g., ix, 4, *ωσ WC*33L*; ix, 26, *ηνεωξεν* W 33 fam. 13). An agreement with L only may be fortuitous

(ix, 8, *ελεγον οτι*). Noteworthy is ix, 4, *ημασ . . . με* B Sy^{pal} (D Sa). What appears to be a pure *θ* reading occurs at viii, 21, *και οπου* (565 1 fam. 13 Sy^s, Sa Bo). This is a survival from an earlier stage of the text; and the same is true of four agreements with *ℵ*^{*}: viii, 38, *ο εωρακατε* (*δς*); 57 *εορακεν σε* (Sa Sy^s); ix, 9, *εκεινοσ δε* (C^c 33 fam. 1 *e ab*); 21 *αυτοσ ηλικιαν* (*s*). Two coincidences with *ℵ*^c may be accidental: ix, 9, *ελεγεν εγω* without *οτι* (L *e ab*); 39 om. *ο*. Apart from viii, 57, just noted, there is a minor agreement with Sy^{vt} at viii, 42, om. *γαρ* 2^o; and agreement with D occurs at viii, 16, *αλλα*; and 35 *ο δε υιοσ* (118-209 239 249 Sa Bo). The only unique readings of great interest are v, 38, *ουκ εχε[τε ? εν εα]υτοισ [μενο]ντα*; and 55 *αλλ οιδα αυτον οτι παρ αυτον ειμι* (ex vii, 29). More enlightening are the traces of derivation from a corrected ancestry. The most obvious are these: ix, 25, *ημην και* 33 L *δθ, ων βς, ων και ογο*; ix, 18, *τυφλοσ ην* most, tr. *β* and *ογο* (with *ηντυ* in *rasura*); ix, 36, *απεκριθη εκεινοσ και ειπεν και τισ εστιν* most, *και τισ εστιν εφη* B (in *ras*) W Sa, *και εφη τισ εστιν ογο*^{*}; 20 ix, 24 *δοσ cett., δοτε ουτοσ ο ανοσ ογο* (wrongly incorporating a gloss *οτι ουτοσ ο ανοσ* intended to correct *οτι ο ανοσ ουτοσ* to the *β* order). Doubtless a similar manipulation is behind vii, 10: *τοτε και αυτοσ ανεβη εις την εορτην δθ, εις την εορτην τοτε και αυτοσ ανεβη β, εις την εορτην τοτε ανεβη* (om. *και αυτοσ*) *ογο* (compare the treatment of this verse in Sub-Achm^Q, recorded above). Similarly the work may be seen progressing on the Coptic pages; e.g. viii, 52, om. *εισ τον αιωνα ογο*^{sa*} (D *bc ff l* Sy^{sc} Sub-Achm^Q), add. *ογο*^c. All corrections are to *β*.

A small fragment (ο100) from the ninth century has four varied readings. One is really *β*: xx, 31, *ζων η αιωνιον*; while another avoids the primary *β* authorities: 31 *πιστευσητε* (against B^ℵΘ). Another appears to be *δ*: 31 *εστιν* post *θεου* (*e*). Lastly for 27 *ιδε τασ χειρασ μου* it gives the novelty *και βαλε εις τασ χειρασ μου εις τον τυπον των ηλων*, where the last four words may be a gloss that was intended to correct the

²⁰ *ℵ* has *εφη* at the beginning of 37—perhaps a misplaced correction. Blass accepts the reading of BW.

Latin reading *εισ τον τοπον των ηλων* in 25 (but compare *Dialogus de recte fide*: βαλε τον δακτυλον σου εισ τους τυπους των ηλων και την χειρα σου εισ την πλευραν). The contemporary bilingual 0194 avoids pure β readings. At xii, 9, there is an agreement with ^Θc 565 alone (*ελληλυθα*), and in 47 an omission of μη with δθ. At xiii, 2, *ιουδασ σιμωνος ισκαριωτου* agrees with L, but looks like an incomplete correction of β to s. Also from about the ninth century, the bilingual 0193 has one reading with B^s* practically alone (iii, 24, om. ο); but in the following verse it has *ιουδαιου* against ^s* Bo ^Θ 565 fam. 1 fam. 13 Sa⁴:6.

Perhaps a century later *l* 963 + *l* 1353 has a tendency to agree with β only when it agrees with θ: i, 3, *ουδεν* (^s* Sa D fam. 13); xix, 26, om. *αυτου* (β 565 fam. 1); *ιδε* (βθ). In xix, 27, it omits *και* with Sa *ea*. Somewhat similarly *l* 965 is β without any of the readings peculiar to small groups including B. It is fairly close to ^s: xx, 16, *στραφεισα δε* (^s Sa Bo, δθ); 25 *μου τον δακτυλον* (^sWL33 D). In 31 it has *ζωην αιωνιον* (Sa etc.); while in 26, *και* for *των* seems unique (but see Sy^s Eth).

In John as elsewhere *l* 1602, of about the eleventh century, diverges more than most of the lectionary fragments from β; although this impression is in part due to its extent. About a hundred verses of the Fourth Gospel are preserved, and in these are some thirty unique readings. Most are trivial, but not all are due to the scribe, for the passage x, 11-18, occurs twice and each time contains not only 18 *απο* (W* 157), but five unique readings. One of these enables us to see the text in transition: x, 16, *ακουσονται* comes from a misapplied correction of *γενησεται* (which it reads with ^s* fam. 13 s) to *γενησονται* (βδθ). The double occurrence proves that this misapplication had been made in an ancestor. But a gloss in the parent is responsible for xii, 13, *εισσυπαντησιν* (σ 2^o cancelled): *συναντησιν* (L D fam. 13 157) had π written over ν to produce *υπαντησιν* (βθσ). Two verses lower the same process is going on in *l* 1602 itself: xii, 15, *θυγατηρ* (BW 33 L, D 565 28 . . .) has ε over η to produce the ζ reading. These suggest progressive correction from a text akin to the peculiar

element in \aleph fam. 13 to β , and from β to ς . This is confirmed by the presence of four agreements with \aleph^* only (e.g. i, 51, *μειζονα*; 52 *ηνεωγοτα*) and four more with \aleph^* and a few (e.g. ii, 5, *οτι ο αν* \aleph 592, see *οτι εαν* W 565 fam. 1 124; xx, 31 *ζωην αιωνιον* \aleph L Sa D fam. 13 *e*). Similar details that have escaped revision are i, 36, *ιδε ο χριστος* (Sa 124 Sy^c); 38 *ακολουθουντας αυτω* (C* 1241 Sa Bo, *e ab* Sy^c.^{pal}); 38 *τινα* (© fam. 13 *e*); and xx, 10, om. *ονν* (Bo *e*). At first sight one correction seems to reverse the process: xii, 19, *ωφελειτε*, ουμεν* suprascr. (cf. Vg). But this is assimilation to Sa, as is i, 45, *βηδσαιδα* (*ab*, *βηδ'σαιδα* ©), and xx, 7, *ο ην επι της κεφαλης αυτου δεδεμενος* (also in *l* 1043).

Finally there is the fragment of a Bohairic-Greek-Arabic lectionary for Holy Week from the Nitrian desert, *l* 1605. It is pure ς , avoiding two $\beta\delta\theta$ readings and one $\beta\theta$.

VI.

The textual criticism of the book of Acts has been stimulated and I believe revolutionized by Professor Clark.²¹ He has attempted to demonstrate that δ (his Z) is the original text of this book, and that β is an editorial revision. This is not the place to review the book; nor should I care to give a final verdict upon it without longer consideration; but it is right to say that after reading the whole book twice and parts of it a dozen times, I think that he has proved his thesis. He is not always ready to recognize that such an early edition as we have in β can preserve genuine readings that have been lost elsewhere; but that β is an edition has, I think, been demonstrated. Professor Clark's book and the absence of any attempt to find a Cæsarean text of Acts make the questions of the mixture of δ , β , ς , both simpler and more interesting.

²¹ A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles: a critical edition with introduction and notes on selected passages*. Oxford 1933. In view of the books of Clark and Ropes (footnote 24), I have dealt with the fragments of Acts very briefly.

Perhaps the Egyptian evidence for the texts of Acts starts earlier than for the Gospels; for two works that may plausibly be connected with Egypt appear to have allusions to δ . Barnabas v, 8f., seems to allude to the δ text of i, 2; and the Didache (let us assume that it is early) quotes the negative Golden Rule in a form corresponding not with Tobit but with the δ text of Acts xv, 20, 29. If these traces are genuine Egyptian references to second century texts, it is all the more surprising to discover that Clement at the end of the century, is using quite a different MS. It seems probable that he usually referred to his MS. when quoting from this book; and it is quite clear that it had substantially a β text. There are several instances of readings similar to δ , but the list is not very impressive: vii, 22, *πασαν σοφίαν*; x, 11, add. *εκδεδεμενον* and om. *καταβαινον*; 13 *αναστα*; xvii, 25, *δουσ* (DH s); 26 *γενοσ* (e Vg Iren); 27 *το θειον*. These are all the traces I have noticed in nearly fifty variants (of course δ occasionally agrees with β). Clement seems to be the earliest witness to *και πνικτων* in xv, 29, and apparently he did not have in his text the negative Golden Rule. It is a blemish on Professor Clark's fine book that he nowhere deals with Clement's quotations. They and the earliest Coptic versions show that β and δ were both old by the end of the second century.

For these Coptic versions show a mixed text. The remnants of the Fayumic version are small;²² but they show three characteristics. They have some definite β readings (e.g. vii, 16, *εν συχημ*; 18 *ηδει*; 19 *ουτοσ*); they have some definite δ readings (e.g. vii, 24, *και εκρουσεν αυτον εν τη αμμω*); and they have novel additions to the text (e.g. xvi, 14, *σεβομενη τον θεον* + "with her whole house"). In the absence of D for part of the passages covered by the Fayumic, it is difficult to assess the fragments accurately; but they are probably slightly nearer to δ than to β .

²² vii, 14-28; ix, 28-39, ed. S. Gaselee, *J.T.S.* xi (1909-10), p. 514-7, and again by Th. Lefort and H. Coppieters, *Muséon* N.S. xv (1914) p. 49-60; xvi, 6-9, 13f., ed. W. Till, *Muséon* xlii (1929) p. 193-6.

Sir Herbert Thompson, who edited the Sub-Achmimic text of John, has recently published a beautiful volume containing an excellent Sa'idic text of Acts from a Chester Beatty MS. of about A.D. 600.²³ This gives us safe ground on which to build; and the important point is clear that the much-discussed δ element in Sa is an integral part of the version. Neglecting particles, there are about 40 δ readings in the later MSS. used by Horner; all except perhaps three are retained in the Beatty MS. None are of great interest, and none are likely to have been deliberately introduced by an editor. Either they are due to reminiscence of a more familiar text in the mind of some transcriber of a Greek ancestor of the version; or Sa represents an extraordinarily thorough correction of a δ text. Apart from these readings, Sa most frequently agrees with B; its coincidences with \aleph are relatively few.²⁴

Origen used a β text with very slight δ influence (e.g. xiii, 33 $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omega$: but right in any case; vii, 39, om. $\alpha\nu\tau\omega\nu$). If his text is nearer to one MS. than another, it is B. P⁴⁵ does not greatly modify the picture. Like Sa, it is essentially a β text, definitely rejecting the major variants of δ and yet incorporating δ turns of phrasing and vocabulary. (I have only examined the text of Acts in this papyrus sufficiently to confirm Sir Frederic Kenyon's general estimate of its relationships.) But quite different light is thrown on the situation by fragments from the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. There are three papyri from this period and all are strongly δ . P²⁹ has a short text, contrary to the expansive custom of many δ MSS.; but one omission is worth noting: xxvi, 7, om. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\nu\ \tau\iota\ \alpha\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\rho\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\rho\ \upsilon\mu\iota\nu$. Grenfell thought a line had been dropped, Clark that a $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\omicron\sigma$ had been

²³ *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* edited by Sir Herbert Thompson. Cambridge 1932.

²⁴ Details may be studied in Sir Herbert Thompson's Appendix to Ropes's *Text of Acts* in the *Beginnings of Christianity* I, iii, London 1926, p. 317-56; and an article by W. H. P. Hatch, *Harvard Theological Review* xxi (1928) p. 86-95.

lost; but it is worth remembering that Nestle wished to place this verse after 22 (*Philologica sacra*, 1896, p. 54). P³⁸ is very like D, but seems to have contained some readings that Clark regards as genuine but lost from D, especially perhaps two *στεχοι* in xix, 6; on the other hand it has more glosses in its text than usual. The last of the three papyri, P⁴⁸ is also a δ text, written by a rather ignorant scribe, but providing valuable reinforcement to our rather fragmentary knowledge of the δ text.²⁵

A little later, just within the fourth century, 0189 has a definitely β text. In nineteen verses it is only three times against B: it does not share B's slip v, 17, *ζηλους*; nor the itacistic blunder 15 *επισκιαση*; and in 12 it reads *σολομωντος*. Four times it agrees with B against the other uncials. Three unique readings are not impressive, although the plural verb v, 12, *εγεινοντο σημεια* may be right. Later in the century both Athanasius and Didymus are reported to have used β texts. In the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, on the other hand, there are traces of δ: xi, 26 *εχρηματισαν*; viii, 37, *ει πιστευεις εξ ολησ της καρδιας σου*. P⁸ from the same century is almost pure β; with two δ readings (v, 8 *ο πετρος*; iv, 34 *υπηρχεν*); and five special readings. A scrap from the end of the century, 057, is β and nearer to B^N than to AC.

According to von Soden (i, p. 1,673) Cyril of Alexandria used a β text with only two δ readings in his quotations: v, 36, *εαυτον μεγαν*; and x, 26, *γαρ εγω* (?δ). In the Lausiac History (of about A.D. 420) "she abstained absolutely from anything with blood and life in it" may be a reference to xv, 20, in a "ceremonial sense," and therefore a reflection of the β text. Also from the fifth century are two fragments, both bought at Achmim. 0175 is a β text with no pure δ reading; in vi, 9, it has the unique reading *της κιλικιας*, and elsewhere it shows a tendency to agree with ^N. No more can be said of 0166 than that it also is a β text. From about the end of the century

²⁵ Professor Clark's edition has so concentrated attention on these texts that it is unnecessary for me to go into details.

comes 076, again a β text, but with no tendency to follow \aleph . It does agree with B, and goes beyond it in conforming quotations to the LXX. Rather unexpectedly it has an agreement with δ : ii, 13, *εχλευαζον λεγοντες*. In the Goleniscev collection at Moscow there is an unpublished Græco-Sahidic fragment. In four verses its Greek text shows three δ readings, one $\beta\delta$, one pure β , and one unique. Also from about the end of the fifth century comes 0165, another β text, with five δ readings. In its special readings and in its choice of variants, it shows signs of grammatical revision and of choice of easier readings.

The two fragments from the sixth century differ from each other. The tradition of the β text is carried on by *la.* 1575; but it has two noteworthy readings: ii, 3, *ωσει απο πυροσ* (unique); 3 *εκαθισαν* (\aleph D Sa Sy^{vg.}Phil Bo). But 093 is a pure ς text. In A.D. 547 Cosmas Indicopleustes made extensive quotations from Acts. He used a β text that shows none of the peculiarities of any MS. or small group, and is almost devoid of ς readings.

In 616 Thomas of Harkel was using Greek MSS. near Alexandria that have turned his margin into one of the chief sources for the δ text of Acts. It has recently been elaborately discussed by Ropes and especially by Clark. Usually assigned to about the same date and neighbourhood, the Bohairic version is at the opposite extreme. In it the δ influence is quite inconsiderable; and it has some remarkable agreements with B.

The two remaining texts mirror the dichotomy in the textual tradition of Acts. P⁴¹ is very strongly Western. It has about a dozen pure δ readings, and only ten non- δ ones. Seven of these 10 are pure ς , and β influence is almost negligible.²⁶ At the end of the list comes the minuscule 81

²⁶ This Graeco-Sa'idic papyrus was published by C. Wessely, *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde* xv, Leipzig 1914, p. 107-18; and reprinted by Ropes, *op. cit.*, p. 271-5. Wessely dated it "probably 12th or 13th century," and is followed by Ropes. Dating of these biblical fragments is difficult, and many

written in 1044. Here also we have an older text that has been corrupted by intrusion from ς ; but in this case the original tradition was β . When the ς interpolations are removed, a surprising resemblance to B is disclosed.

VII.

Before indicating the more obvious deductions to be drawn from this tedious survey, it is well to emphasize its defects. The evidence is mainly fragmentary, often dubious in dating, and in some important instances (such as the text of the fourth-century fathers) insufficiently known and tested. In part I have borrowed information about non-Egyptian texts from von Soden, and to his inaccuracies I have doubtless added some of my own in dealing with something like two hundred Egyptian authorities for the five books, and in compressing my reports on most to a few lines.²⁷ To save space I have used δ in an inexcusably vague way to cover *ke*, D it, and Sy^{sc}—in short most readings that differ from β and have not yet been claimed for θ ; but I have included nothing that has not certainly come from Egypt (except, perhaps, some patristic quotations), and I have omitted only a few palimpsest fragments in the British Museum, the Arabic versions, and Scaliger's Græco-Arabic lectionary at Leiden. Above all the reader should remember that in the uncertainties of MS. grouping, the

²⁷ Some inaccuracies of others are silently corrected. Thus in ι 1043 Gregory prints $\delta\epsilon[\omicron\mu\epsilon]\nu\omicron\nu$ in Jn. xx, 7; I have printed $\delta\epsilon[\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon]\nu\omicron\nu$ with ι 1602 Sa.

of the three hundred and thirty from Egypt will have been dated wrongly. But it is not so difficult as Wessely thought, and this is one of the easier ones. It is the only Egyptian fragment that has been strongly influenced by the chancery hand, and is certainly from the eighth or ninth century. It is unfortunate that for the dating of so many of our texts we are dependent on Wessely. Where I have tested him, I have found him assigning eighth century MSS to the sixth. (Mr. H. I. Bell has confirmed my dating of P⁴¹ and 070.)

evidence is nearly always capable of misinterpretation. In detail Professor Sanders and I differ more than we agree.

Nevertheless certain things are clear. New readings of value are few, and Salmon's words have not been justified: "if there were now disinterred from an Egyptian tomb a second- or third-century New Testament MS., it would be regarded as an authority superior to any now accessible to us."²⁸ Professor P.-L. Couchoud misunderstands the value of P⁴⁵ when he uses it as a primary authority for the text of Mark.²⁹ The true value of these fragments is seen by Kenyon, when he asks: "Do they, or do they not, confirm the superiority of the Vaticanus over all others? Do they show at least that the Vaticanus type of text was dominant in Egypt? Or do they give any support to Hort's hypothesis of a non-Vaticanus text also existing in Egypt, which he designated as 'Alexandrian'? Or do they prove the existence of the so-called 'Western' text in Egypt in these early centuries?"; although I think that in view of the whole evidence he gives the wrong answer when he says: "The answer to all these questions is in the negative."³⁰

First, was the Bishop of Gloucester right in stating that "we must now recognize that we have five independent groups of authorities each of which probably goes back independently to the original text"?³¹ It is, I think, quite clear that he is wrong, and that any rigid theory of local texts is untenable. I do not believe that any theory of local texts corresponds with fact except that some readings, perhaps all of which are inter-

²⁸ *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, London 1897, p. 54.

²⁹ *J.T.S.*, 35 (Jan. 1934), p. 3-22.

³⁰ Schweich Lectures, p. 34. Kenyon's first question is obscure. How could the superiority of B be confirmed except by the production of a series of new and correct readings where all our present authorities were corrupt but where B was nearer the truth? Kenyon dismisses from consideration fragments later than the fourth century (p. 33).

³¹ Reviewing Streeter, *Church Quarterly Review* c, April, 1925, p. 18.

polated, seem to be geographically Western.³² It is possible to get some knowledge of the true situation in Egypt because that country has escaped the deluge of the Byzantine text. If we can no longer say that "the 'Antiochian' Greek text never seems to have influenced Egypt—at least not before the tenth century,"³³ Egyptian monophysitism prevented the ecclesiastical adoption of the Byzantine text; and we discover a state of affairs which we have no warrant for thinking peculiar to Egypt. All forms of text, with the possible exception of that known to us from Sy^{sc}, are represented among our Egyptian authorities; and, except in the case of ς , it is improbable that one occurred much before another. W is proof in itself; but, since Streeter rejects its evidence on this head, I outline the whole case.

In the second century Clement has (except in Acts) an almost pure δ text, and the Sa'idic has a definite δ element. From the third century are P⁵ and P⁴⁵ in John, 0171 in Luke, and P³⁷ in Matthew; and three papyri from the Acts a little later. From the fourth and fifth centuries we have the beginning of Mark in W (and many δ readings in its generally ς text of Luke); P¹⁹ and P²¹ of Matthew; and the Goleniscev fragment of Acts. Later are the numerous and definite traces of δ readings, more especially in the lectionary texts (e.g. *l* 1602), and the clear witness of the Harclean margin. To such direct evidence should be added the order of the Gospels in W (Mt.

³² If we had as many fragments from the area between Alexandria and Edessa as we have from the Nile Valley, the text of Antioch would probably be much more varied than most of us think.

³³ Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 5010 (see 4988). From the end of the fourth century we have W with predominantly ς texts in Mt., and the latter part of Lk.; from the fifth 069 (Mk.) and 0182 (Lk.); from the sixth R (Lk.); etc. P⁴⁵, especially in Mark, suggests that ς has preserved ancient elements lost elsewhere; and ς readings in Origen (Streeter p. 95) are not necessarily late. See Ropes, *op. cit.* (footnote 24), p. cclix. Similarly Lucian in parts of the O.T. preserves valuable readings that have been lost elsewhere. (Burkitt, *op. cit.* col. 5008, says there is no instance of a Graeco-Bohairic MS.: *l* 1605 is Bo-Gr-Arab.)

Jn. Lk. Mk. as in D *e ab* X 594 Gothic: compare the Egyptian Catalogus Claromontanus, c. A.D. 300: Mt. Jn. Mk. Lk.); and the fact that Mk. probably stood last in P⁴⁵. The Coptic vocabularies suggest that originally the order in the Coptic versions was Jn. Mt. Mk. Lk., which is definitely nearer the "Western" arrangement. Canon Streeter seeks to avoid these conclusions. He argues (p. 57 f.) that Clement is not a trustworthy witness to the Egyptian text, and may indeed be the source of δ readings in Egypt; and he writes a very complicated account of the begetting of W (p. 600: elaborated in the *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 19, 1926, p. 165-71). But the more we detach Clement from Egypt, the less he can have influenced the Sa'idic tradition; and although W is exceptional, we cannot run to the West to explain every δ fragment. From our earliest witnesses down to A.D. 1200 there is no century without its patent or its latent tokens of the δ text; and I have demonstrated that such a statement as "that the later text of Alexandria suffered considerably through infiltration of Western readings" (Streeter, p. 118) suggests the opposite of the truth—the "Western" readings were being crushed out.³⁴ One is reminded of Hort's refusal to recognize the Egyptian origin of B.

The θ text is much more difficult to observe in a heap of fragments; but Streeter himself discovered that in W two-thirds of Mark belonged to this family. Other traces in the

³⁴ I draw attention to what I mentioned above (p. 35) that there is more evidence for the influence of Egypt on Africa, than for the importation of African texts into Egypt. The presence of active error common to β and the African Latin, coupled with the fact that Capelle has shown that the African Psalter has readings derived from Upper Egypt, remove the foundation for such words as Turner's in Gore's *Commentary* p. 728b: "Where B and *k* agree, we have perhaps the greatest security that any two witnesses can give us of external evidence for the recovery of the apostolic text." Whether the cause (as suggested long ago by Salmon, p. 82), is that Cyprian was peculiarly sympathetic towards Egypt, or whether the relationship goes back to the previous century, I think the β element in *ke* Cyprian is Egyptian in origin, and that their coincidence with B is no more weighty than the support of the Sa'idic.

same gospel are to be found in Origen, P⁴⁵, 0143, 0188, and the Harclean margin; and similar relics of such texts have been noted above for the other books. Since all scholars who are studying fam. ① have pronounced one or more Egyptian fragments to belong to the group, we may take its presence in Egypt as proved. But during my work on these fragments I have become increasingly dissatisfied with the conception of the so-called "Cæsarean Text" as a "family." There is no space to argue the matter in detail; but the main points may be given. First, is it probable that every single important Greek MS. of the Gospels with a non- β text (except D) should be descended from a "Cæsarean" ancestor? The geographical range of the relics of this family, from the Caucasus to Calabria, and from Athos to Sinai, stands in startling contrast to the idea of a local text at the beginning of the third century. Secondly, if Origen used a non- β text that had none of the most characteristic δ readings, is it not probable that practically the whole of his text will be paralleled somewhere or other among the fifty or more θ MSS? (Lake has selected a quotation of Mark xiv, 66-72a, to show that Eusebius used a θ text. The total number of variants from ς are fourteen: of which 10 are supported by 565 and 9 by 700, and 8 by Georgian. But at least 8 are also supported by MSS. assigned by both Streeter and Lake to β , while ① and W only support 7 and 6 times respectively.) Thirdly, P⁴⁵ (and I think R) suggests very forcibly that it is a mistaken method to amalgamate all the non- ς readings of this half a hundred MSS.³⁵; and Professor Lake has pointed out certain sub-groups in θ . Are not these relics of different early texts that have gone through a more or less similar process of revision? Professor Lake believes "that

³⁵ I am glad to see that Professor L. Vaganay in his interesting *Initiation à la critique textuelle néotestamentaire*, 1934, p. 101, independently comes to much the same conclusion as myself about P⁴⁵: "Il se rattache, suivant l'éditeur, à la recension césarienne. Est-ce bien sûr? A notre avis, c'est plutôt le type égyptien du texte courant primitif . . . Il ne devait d'ailleurs guère différer du type césarién, celui qu'Origène a utilisé en Palestine."

the Cæsarean text is merely a correction of the δ by the β , while Canon Streeter thinks that it is an independent text, co-ordinate in value with δ and β .³⁶ Of the two, I think Lake is nearer the truth; but I do not think the "correction" was a recension that we can reconstruct—it was a tendency that affected different texts in different degrees. I admit affinity, but deny consanguinity.

But if the families that Streeter seeks to attach to Cæsarea and Carthage, as well as the texts commonly assigned to δ , are found at all dates in Egypt, the theory of local texts must be surrendered. The textual facts cannot be described in such simple geographical terms. The theory always rested on our ignorance; and, so far as text (not rendering) is concerned, "African" ought to be used in the sense of "the only text at present known to have been in Africa in the third century," not "the text known to have been in Africa only."

At last we come to β , whose presence in Egypt from the fourth century onwards needs no proof. Since Hort's day the attack on this text has been growing keener. It is said, in the first place, that it has more impossible readings than Hort would allow (e.g. Mk. iii, 14-16, the double *καὶ ἐποίησεν ὠδεκα*; iv, 21, *υπο*; vi, 22, *ἡρῶ διαδοσ* without *της*; Ac. xii, 25, *εἰς ἱερουσαλημ*): this is true. Secondly, it is urged that β (and in particular B) show signs of deliberate revision (e.g. Mt. xxi, 31, *υστερος*; xxiii, 26, *τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ της παροψιδος . . . αὐτου*; xxvii, 17, *τον βαρabbαν*; Mk. vii, 4, *ραντισονται*; x, 19, forcible assimilation to Mt. or O.T.; xv, 34, *ζαβαφθανει*; xv, 39, *om. κραξας*; Lk. xix, 37, *παντων*; Jn. viii, 57, *εορακες*; and such things as the avoidance of the colloquial use of *εἰς* and the offence taken at *παρὰ πορευεσθαι*, together with the sediment of δ readings even in B); this also is true. Thirdly, while Hort frankly admitted the absence of early patristic support for the

³⁶ K. Lake *Text of the New Testament*⁵, London 1928, p. 84. Streeter is supported by Bover; but "co-ordinate in value" is not borne out by internal evidence, as indeed Dr. Streeter admits (*J.T.S.*, 27, Jan. 1926, p. 147).

β text, stress has recently been laid on the extreme paucity of any evidence for it at any time; and in particular it has been asserted that it is an Egyptian recension of the fourth (Corssen) or third (Sanders) century.³⁷ This is false; for the β text with some characteristic errors is a main constituent of the Sa'idic version (and in Acts appears in Clement).

An early date is probable on other grounds. One argument, indeed, must be dropped. Hort's statement (p. 212-24) that B and \aleph differ so much that their common ancestor must have been very remote, though it is accepted by Ropes (p. 1), Turner (p. 724), Kenyon (*Schweich Lectures*, p. 11), and supposed to be reinforced by "Hoskier's immense list of minute differences between B and \aleph " (Streeter, p. 596-7), is untenable. The principle MS. of Juvenal, the Pithoeanus, was written about the ninth century. From the tenth century onwards it has been so heavily corrected from the vulgar MSS. that many of its original readings have been effaced. Two copies less than fifty years apart in the tenth century might have differed as good from evil. If Streeter is right (I am not sure that he is) in saying "B is a thoroughbred; \aleph is a cross, but a cross between two thoroughbreds of different stocks" (p. 61), I ask: "When did it become a natural law that Europeans and Eurasians could never be half-brothers?"

But there are other considerations.³⁸ For some time

³⁷ The invasion of the text books by this theory is largely due to the nonsense talked about Hesychius by Bousset, von Soden, and their followers. Even Professor Burkitt writes "*H*" for the "neutral" text. We know nothing at all about Hesychius.

³⁸ Are all our β authorities necessarily connected with Egypt? It may be true of CZ; and 157, 1241, 1342, have some connexion with Jerusalem; and 1241 with Sinai. But what of L, now at Paris, and written in the eighth century by a scribe almost ignorant of Greek; or of Δ , written about a century later at St. Gall by an Irish hand? And what of Origen's use of β at Caesarea, and the affinities between L and the corrections of \aleph made at Caesarea? If the θ texts are mixed, they presuppose β . (In Ps. xiv, 1, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\sigma\epsilon\iota$ is characteristic of Upper Egypt—U Sa, and is not surprising in Bo or Clement of Alexandria; but how did it get on to the fourth-century marble slab on Lapethus?)

evidence has been accumulating that the codex form was used for biblical MSS. earlier than had been supposed,³⁹ but no statement of the facts has the right emphasis. Nearly fifty papyrus fragments of the New Testament are known; and of these none can be described as rolls. From about A.D. 300 come P^{13.18.22}, written on the backs of rolls, i.e. on waste paper; P³¹ (P^{Ryl.} 4) is written in long lines across the fibres of the recto with the verso blank, and can hardly be regarded as a roll; and I think the seventh-century P⁴³ is wrongly classed as a roll by the editors.⁴⁰ From the Old Testament we have over eighty papyri. One, the Leipzig Psalter, is on the verso of a roll of accounts; another, P^{Berol.} 13422, has only writing on one side but derivation from a roll is very uncertain: apart from these only four fragments (third or fourth century) can be from rolls. One was used to take N.T. P¹⁸ on the verso: were all four Jewish? Add to this the extreme rarity of Coptic rolls; the nearest things to rolls that I remember are the Paris Achmimic fragment of 2 Macc., and the Middle Egyptian fragment of the Didache in the British Museum, and probably neither was ever a complete roll. Most noteworthy is the Christian Chester-Beatty codex of Numbers-Deuteronomy from early in the second century. Two other fragments of biblical codices have been assigned to the second century; two vellum leaves, of Demosthenes and Euripides, are thought to come from c. A.D. 100; and in 1923 Cumont found at Dura two folded vellum sheets dated before 190 B.C. I think that Christian biblical MSS. were habitually written from the beginning of the second century in codex form—perhaps earlier, if sections of the Fourth Gospel (or Apocalypse) are disarranged.

³⁹ Kenyon, *The Library*, Sept. 1926, p. 121-35; *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford 1932; *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, i, p. 9-13; *Schweich Lectures* p. 53-5.

⁴⁰ W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, *Wadi Sarga: Coptic and Greek Texts*, Hauniae 1922, p. 43-5. Two widely separated texts (Rev. ii, 12 f.; xv, 8-xvi, 2) are written by different hands on the two sides: but the lines are incredibly long for a roll, and the later chapter is on the recto.

Now, over thirty years ago, Burkitt pointed out that the geographically Western interpolations must go back to a single interpolated edition of the tetraevangelium, which could not well be later than A.D. 150; and Turner has shown that before the middle of the century the Egyptian Gospel of Peter used all four Gospels. I believe that the Gospel canon was formed at least a generation before that; and I am inclined to think that Ignatius, Philad. 5, *προσφυγωντω ευαγγελιω*, may yet be found to refer to a written canonical Gospel.⁴¹

I venture to suggest (a) that the absence of the codex form from early non-biblical papyri shows that the form was derived from Christian circles outside Egypt; (b) that it was associated with the formation of the fourfold Gospel canon; and (c) that with the codex went a canonical text, which formed the basis of all non- β pre- ς texts. Ropes suggested that the δ text of Acts arose in connexion with the formation of the Canon. It may have been promulgated in that connexion; but I am inclined to regard the δ text of the Gospels as a growth, occasionally extravagant, on canonical soil and to see in the θ texts mixtures of canonical and pre-canonical texts. The narrow columns of B Σ will then be a sign of their near (not immediate) derivation from the pre-canonical rolls of Upper Egypt (compare the narrow columns of the Chester Beatty Numbers). This is supported by other signs of antiquity (such as the primitive use of nomina sacra in some parts of B and in Coptic), and above all by the excellence of β when tested by such things as historical probability and "Marcan usage." A shower of cor-

⁴¹ F. C. Burkitt, *Two Lectures on the Gospels*, Cambridge 1901, p. 17-25; Turner, *J.T.S.*, 14 (1912-3) p. 164-73. Zahn, *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*², Leipzig 1904, p. 41, ascribes the formation of both the Gospel canon and the corpus Paulinum to A.D. 80-110. Such an early date is not contradicted by the varying order of the books; compare the change in position of Hebrews between B and its exemplar, and the possible rearrangement of the Gospels in D—see J. Chapman, *Z.N.W.* 6 (1905), p. 339-46.

ruption and interpolation has covered δ and θ ; β is much less corrupt and has a different kind of interpolation.⁴²

During the second and third centuries A.D. the papyri show the literary culture of Egypt to have been at its height, but there is no evidence of intense intellectual commerce with the capital; there are nearly 650 literary papyri from these two centuries, but no Lucian or Plutarch, Clement or Origen. Perhaps a copy of β reached Origen to be dismissed among the MSS. that had been corrupted "sive per negligentiam scribentium sive ex temeritate quorundam . . . uel propter eas qui quod ipsis uidetur in emendationibus uel adiciunt uel subducunt," a judgment expressed in the work where he abandoned β for θ (in *Matth.* xv, 14). Did the end of the period of the persecutions, and the opportunity of supplying copies of the scriptures to the regular book-trade, stimulate the scholarship of Alexandria to do for the Gospels what it had done five hundred years previously for Plato, and lead it to seek out the oldest copies available? If so, Alexandrine refinements seem to have been few; and such recension as there was to have shown the austerity of true scholarship. This text then appears to have received ecclesiastical sanction; and we can trace its introduction unto the monastic institutions and the lectionaries (forming Hort's "Alexandrian" text), until with the supersession of Coptic by Arabic as the living speech, the precise text in use became a matter of indifference.

The whole question needs more detailed treatment than I can give it here; and I am under no delusion about the improbability of the simple historical process I have suggested. But I do believe that in its broad lines it gives something nearer the truth than a theory of local texts. The early Christians

⁴² It is instructive to compare the history of the Platonic text. The autographs were lost by the end of the fourth century B.C. (H. Alline, *Histoire du Texte de Platon*, Paris 1915, p. 56); and the early Ptolemaic papyri show variants like those of our δ or θ texts: e.g. PLond. 488 has η παιδων ενεκα for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ νεων, and $\epsilon\pi$ αυτην την ανδραποδωδη σωφροσυνην for $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ ταυτην την ευηθη σωφροσυνην. Alexandrine scholarship arose in answer to the necessity of establishing an authentic text; but it may have accomplished this more by promulgation than recension.

had few "sequestered valleys through which streams of tradition might flow unmixed, and the picture to be set before the mind's eye is rather the Egyptian Delta, a network of water-courses and canals; . . . and the true line of division is between the variants themselves, not between the manuscripts which offer them."⁴³ If the picture seems different, it is due to our ignorance. But even the Delta has main and subsidiary streams flowing through it; and of all our texts none is so pure as β —it has lost its authority but retained its excellence. Yet time after time it may be emended; and in some cases the true reading seems to be lost. It has become a habit to say that among so many MSS. the true reading must be preserved somewhere; but we do ill to change a monolatrous attitude to the *textus receptus* for the polytheism that erects its altars ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΒΙΒΛΙΩ. What followed $\gamma\alpha\rho$ in Mk, xvi, 8, and what word did Jesus apply to the "Sons of thunder"?

I have had occasion to express my disagreement with some of the opinions of distinguished scholars; but I have never done so without first learning from them. The Cambridge line of textual critics stretches from Bentley and Porson to Hort in the nineteenth century, and to Burkitt and Housman in the twentieth. And as for the workers on the "Cæsarean text," may I extend to Professor Lake and his colleagues what Professor Vaganay finely says of Dr. Streeter? "Il soutient parfois des théories sujettes à caution. Il a néanmoins le rare mérite d'orienter les esprit vers une conception plus vivante et plus vraie de la tradition manuscrite des évangiles."

P. L. HEDLEY.

P.S. in proof. (i) *l* 1596 (p. 35, 39, 196)=*l* 1043 (p. 208), but it includes fragments of three MSS.: see Z.N.T.W. 32 (1933), p. 202. (ii) P. 198 *fin.*: the contradiction is uncertain because Thomas *may* be citing Syriac MSS. (iii) Brevity has produced obscurity. True readings survive frequently in β alone, less frequently in δ alone, very rarely only in θ texts, and then perhaps never in any large number of θ MSS. and probably without any specific local connexion.

⁴³ See A. E. Housman, *Lucanus*, Oxford 1926, p. vii.

ART. III.—FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN.

THE bad fairy was annoyed: why had she not been invited to the christening? Invitation or no invitation, however, she *would* attend, and so when the good fairies had promised the innocent babe all the brilliant endowments they could remember there was a sudden interruption and the uninvited fairy stalked in. "I promise him," she hissed malevolently, "as a crown to those high qualities, the entire lack of a sense of humour," and disappeared as suddenly as she had come. That or something like it must have occurred when in 1805 the third son of John and Maria Newman received the names of Francis William. That or something like it explains why though both first and third son were born endowed with exceptional mental gifts, it was only the former who was to become a great scholar and a great saint, while the latter was never to succeed in being more than a great crank. The last year has seen more than one re-assessment of the life of John Henry Newman, but his youngest brother's career is a fascinating byway which repays a closer study than it usually receives.

The Cardinal disclaimed the usual Evangelical experiences for his own youthful conversion: "stages of conviction of sin, terror, despair, news of free and full salvation, joy and peace," etc. Francis was a more orthodox Calvinist, and was converted at the age of fourteen. How rigid he was may be seen from this extract from J. H. Newman's Diary:

"Sept. 30, 1821. Sunday. After dinner to-day I was suddenly called downstairs to give an opinion whether I thought it a sin to write a letter on Sunday. I found dear Frank had refused to copy one. A scene ensued more painful than any I have experienced."

In later life Francis insisted, "I erred, but I was faithful to God."

This was the year of his confirmation by Dr. Howley: everything in the service he found solemn, except the bishop; "he seemed to me a *made-up* man and a mere pageant." At this time he was a fanatical believer, subscribing gladly to the Thirty-nine Articles in order to be admitted to the University of Oxford. He became a member of Worcester College and worked hard, but he was saddened to find that not one undergraduate in five seemed to have any religious convictions at all. Free discussion soon began to have an unsettling influence on him; and John Keble's approval of Sunday cricket helped to open his eyes to the fact that Sunday and Sabbath are not synonymous. When he revealed this fact to his Evangelical friends he was "scandalized to find how little candour or discernment" they displayed in the matter. His whole life this deceit in the matter of Sunday seems to have rankled. In "The Soul" he declaims as follows:

"The Puritan School of England and Scotland shuts its eyes to the plainest facts, because it believes it to be *useful* to hold that Sunday is Sabbath and Sabbath binding upon us. In vain shall we point to Paul's contemptuous disavowal of Sabbaths, and to his declaration that he who disregards sacred days is justified, so that he only disregard them unto the Lord. In vain may it be proved from Christian history that until Constantine Sunday was a working day with Christians. In vain will it be shown that all the great Reformers held the ancient and Catholic doctrine that the observance of Sunday is a mere ordinance of the Church, not a command of God; and that until the English and Scotch Sabbatarians (late in the sixteenth century) invented the Puritanical doctrine on this subject, it was unknown to the Christian Church . . .

Our ears are dinned with the false cry, 'The Sabbath the *boon* of the working-man.' In many cases, say rather, his *bane*."

And he goes on to suggest the advantages that would accrue from working on Sunday. He even permits himself the sweeping generalization: "More sin of every kind in England and Scotland is committed on Sunday than on any other day of the week." The strange Evangelical watchword of the time, "Jesus is Jehovah," could hardly hope to survive a study of early Christian heresies. He next became unsound on Infant Baptism about the same time that his brother was adopting the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. After this they diverged rapidly from each other; Francis could not appreciate ecclesiasticism or reverence bishops as such, and thought J. H. was unduly stiff and cold towards "spiritual persons." He also disapproved of the way in which his brother gabbled the Prayer Book services (a habit which later became popular among the Tractarians).

Francis was a clever and industrious scholar, witness one of his brother's letters home:—

"To say that he knows more than most of those who take common degrees would be saying little. I am convinced that he knows much more of Greek as a language than most of those who take first classes, and to complete the climax, because it is I who say it, he certainly knows much more of Greek as a language, in fact is a much better Greek scholar, than I . . . Again, he is a much better mathematician than I am. I mean he reads more mathematically, as Aristotle would say."

He won first classes in Classics and Mathematics, was elected Fellow of Balliol and all seemed bright for the future, when he found he could not sign the Thirty-nine Articles. He resigned his Fellowship and never proceeded to his M.A. This of course grieved his parents as much as his first classes had delighted them; but there is a letter extant from Mrs. Newman to John Henry on the occasion of Frank's firsts, which is a shrewd piece of parental summing-up. "It is very delightful about Frank. I am more thankful on your account than on his.

He is a piece of adamant. You are such a sensitive being." A piece of adamant—yes.

Ordination which at one time seemed likely for him had come to appear "offensively and outrageously Popish." Both brothers found the Prayer Book Catholic, but while J. H. was later to interpret the Articles according to the Prayer Book, Francis was now vainly trying to evacuate the Prayer Book to suit a Protestant reading of the Articles. He could not succeed. While the Vicar of St. Mary's was constantly finding fresh inspiration in the Fathers of the Church, his brother was certain that they deserved but a small fraction of the reverence which was accorded to them. He was driven back to the Bible, seeking a less dogmatic Christianity. The presence of dogma repelled Francis from the Church of England; it was precisely the absence of sufficient dogma and discipline that sent John Henry over to the Church of Rome. Compare the pathetic apostrophe in "Phases of Faith":

"Oh Dogma, Dogma! how dost thou trample under foot love, truth, conscience, justice! Was ever a Moloch worse than thou? Burn me at the stake; then Christ will receive me, and saints beyond the grave will love me, though the saints here know me not,"

with the more famous:

"O my Mother, whence is this unto thee that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them and bearest children, yet darest not own them?"

In 1829 he proposed marriage to a young Oxfordshire lady but was rejected (she later became a nun in the Roman Church), and thereupon set off with some kindred spirits to the East on a missionary journey. As we have seen he had for some time been seeking a freer and less dogmatic Christianity, and having met A. N. Groves and the future Lord Congleton he decided to join them in an undenominational attempt to preach the Gospel in Persia. They surrendered all their worldly prospects in making this venture of faith and set out with high hopes. The Newman family was somewhat upset, but J. H. wrote a mag-

nanimous letter the day after seeing his brother off, in which he said, "Frank so completely put himself into God's hands that we can have no fear for him, whatever becomes of his projects." It was a tragi-comic adventure. They all seem to have been inexperienced travellers and loaded themselves with a vast amount of luggage which hampered their movements a good deal. They were accompanied by a certain Dr. Cronin, with his mother and sister. He had just been left a widower, and he thought it right to bring his infant child also with him. Yet they all bravely endured the discomforts of long journeys on the back of mules. (This strange company is only paralleled by the fantastic ensemble which accompanied Father Ignatius on his visit to Rome.) The doctor's sister, soon after her marriage to Lord Congleton, died as a result of hardships endured while travelling: poor old Mrs. Cronin also died soon after they arrived in Bagdad. At Aleppo and Bagdad they remained for two years, out of communion with any Christian body and failing as well they might to achieve much success. A second proposal by Francis to the same young lady having been met with refusal, he now returned to England convinced that the missionary enterprise had been wrong, but still hoping for marriage. He *did* marry the following year, but it was Maria Kennaway, not the lady from Worton. She was a Plymouth Sister and a profoundly convinced believer whose prayers for the recovery of his faith were in part rewarded after her death.

After a short time at Bristol College he was appointed Classical Professor in Manchester New College. So began his friendship with Dr. James Martineau,¹ Professor of Mental and

¹ Dr. Martineau's upbringing resembled Newman's. A significant story is told of his childhood. He was left at home one Sunday evening while his mother went to church, with strict orders that he and the rest were to spend their time reading the Bible. When she returned she said to James "What have you read?" He replied "Isaiah." "But," she objected, "you can't have read the whole of it: I haven't been away long and Isaiah isn't very short." "Yes, I have" replied the boy, "skipping the nonsense!"

Moral Philosophy. But he was a Unitarian before he met Dr. Martineau: in "Phases of Faith" (1850) he looks back over his life with the amazing words: "Christ and the Devil had thus faded out of my spiritual vision; there were left the more vividly God and Man."

That describes fairly accurately Francis Newman's religious position from now on. His faith in the Bible was shattered. "Bibliolatry is the greatest religious evil in England." "'Forbidding to think,'" he grimly observes, "is a still more fatal tyranny than 'forbidding to marry;' it paralyses all the moral powers." He always disliked Unitarians who had an exaggerated respect for Jesus. In his "Discourse against Hero-making in Religion" (1864) he is more than half inclined to to place Paul above Jesus.

At University College, London, where he next went as Professor of Latin, he soon won a name for eccentricity. His trousers often ended in six or eight inches of black leather, while in winter his outer garment was a rug with a hole in the middle for his head! He often kept out the cold with three coats one on top of another, like an onion. He used to wear large light felt hats, with the result that small boys were constantly calling after him that one-time popular catchword, "Where did you get that hat?", a question by which he was distressed if he could not give them an accurate answer, though he was always puzzled by their curiosity!

Francis Newman was a prolific translator; of his lesser-known works his Latin translation of *Hiawatha* and *Robinson Crusoe* ("Rebilius Cruso") may be mentioned. He believed very strongly that languages should be taught by what is now called the "direct method" and that grammar should come in only incidentally. Accordingly when at University College he used to have meetings in his study for conversation in Latin. He would deplore the lack of extant classical literature which would suit the taste of the young and for this reason he translated *Robinson Crusoe*. But in spite of these original notions his hearers found his lectures very dry and jejune and they looked

forward to enjoying his hospitality with as little relish as the freshman anticipates his visit to the Master's house. On one occasion a large batch arrived to find with him the Hungarian Minister of Justice. Newman at once attacked him with, "I have never been able to understand how it is you have never introduced the Bactrian camel into Hungary," and proceeded to enlarge on its suitability to the conditions there, the poor Minister the while looking as if he had never even heard of the Bactrian camel.

All his life Francis was interested in foreign politics. He was a strong supporter of Mazzini in Italy and of Kossuth in Hungary. The latter, almost forgotten to-day, was a close friend of his, and his speeches were edited by Newman. Recent events in Vienna may well send us back to our histories of Austria and Hungary, where we shall admire the fine patriotic ardour with which Louis Kossuth agitated and fought for Hungary's independence, how he founded the first daily newspaper in Hungary, demanding the abolition of serfdom, the equality of all citizens, the taxation of the nobles and the freedom of the press. How after seeming success in 1848 he was gradually overwhelmed and abandoned this is not the place to relate. Those interested may consult Newman's *Reminiscences of Two Wars and Two Exiles*.

The translation of Horace's Odes came out in 1853, but more important was the Iliad of Homer which appeared three years later. Writing to Dr. Nicholson of this he says:—

"I have had satisfactory approval of my Iliad from my brother, Dr. Newman, a fastidious critic and practical poet, as well as from other private quarters which I count much on; but reviews as yet do not notice me . . . I have no high expectation of the very existence of the book becoming known, except slowly to many who might perhaps be glad of it if they knew it."

It was an exceedingly odd translation; he sets out to use outlandish words wherever Homer uses expressions that were obsolete by the time of sixth century Athens. Thus, he renders Δᾶερ ἐμείω, κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυόεσσης (vi, 344):

“O brother thou of me, who am a mischief-working vixen,
A numbing horror.”

This called forth Matthew Arnold's wrath who attacked the translation as ignoble and grotesque. This produced a reply from Newman, to which Arnold himself replied later. It must be admitted that Arnold gets the better of his opponent, except only where he himself gives an example of how Homer should be translated:

“So shone forth, in the front of Troy, by the bed of
Xanthus,
Between that and the ships, the Trojan's numerous fires,
In the plain there were kindled a thousand fires; by each
one

There sate fifty men, in the ruddy light of the fire.”

These are English hexameters! No wonder Newman at first reading thought it was a *prose* translation. It is indeed about as bad as his own lines. Here is another specimen of Newman's style:

“O gentle friend, if thou and I from this encounter 'scaping,
Hereafter might for ever be from Eld and Death exempted
As heavenly gods, not I in sooth would fight among the
foremost,

Nor liefly thee would I advance to man-ennobling battle.
Now,—sith ten thousand shapes of Death do any-gait
pursue us

Which never mortal may evade, though sly of foot and
nimble;—

Onward! and glory let us earn, or glory yield to someone.”

Apart from the grotesqueness of many of the words, the chief thing that strikes the reader is the clumsiness of the metre: it hobbles along in jerks. The unfortunate spondee “someone” is a fitting anti-climax on which to end our survey of Newman's translations.

His interests were many and varied; Women's Suffrage, Anti-vaccination, Temperance, Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Vegetarian movements—all claimed his support. The

last-named society he desired should be called the "Anti-creophagite Society"—a proposal which met with no support. (It was in a vegetarian paper that he inserted a long and precise advertisement for a cook for "the smallest possible family," ending with a command to apply by letter to "Emer. Prof. F. W. Newman.") He was right when once in answer to an enquiry as to his attitude on various questions of the day, he cried out, "Oh, I am anti-slavery, anti-alcohol, anti-tobacco, anti-*everything*."

He was always on the unpopular side and sometimes on the right one. He was violently opposed to the C.D. Act: there is a letter in which he attests his "deep reverence and admiration as well as affection for Mrs. (Josephine) Butler and my conviction that only moral and spiritual influences can quell the demon of impurity, while the *despair* which tries to keep it within limits by moderation and indulging it is a folly and an infatuation, especially when coupled with police licenses and police espionage." He also published an attack on Neo-Malthusianism in 1889.

Has Mr. Chesterton ever claimed him as a leading Distributist? For Newman was a whole-hearted believer in small holdings and the policy of decentralization. He looked back with eyes of longing to the mediæval guilds and was anxious to revive the "Ward-mote" where people could discuss their difficulties and their desire for better conditions of work. But perhaps Newman is outside the Distributist pale not only for being a vegetarian, but, far more serious, a teetotaller. Scrutinising a jug containing claret at lunch one day he asked, "What is that ugly black fluid? I say ugly and black because I believe it to be some sort of wine."

In 1849 was published his best known book, *The Soul, Its Sorrows and Aspirations*, which its sub-title describes as "an essay towards the natural history of the soul as the true basis of theology." It is an essay in natural religion, full of much that is profound and searching, but not without the usual eccentricities of thought. The volume is chiefly remembered to-day for the distinction (adopted by, and usually attributed to,

William James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*) between the "once-born" and the "twice-born." James put both on a level but Newman with his Evangelical upbringing held that though they are complementary types, yet there could be no doubt that the twice-born belongs to the higher order of religion.

Much as his brother the Cardinal and he differed in almost every other way, they were united in their strong moralism. It now seems agreed that it was the moral weight and greatness of the Tractarians that was their leading characteristic, and this judgment can be passed on Francis Newman too. Frivolity in religion was abhorrent to him. Of his genuine earnestness there could never be any doubt. He might be called by some agnostic or atheist but that he was deeply religious is plain no less from his life than from his writings. His book on *The Soul* is a heart-to-heart investigation of the basis of religion and much of it is ennobling and inspiring. It is on an *ethical* basis that he thinks the church of the future must be built. (See *Catholic Union*, 1844.)

Not many small girls visited 15, Arundel Crescent, Weston-super-Mare, to which he retired after his second marriage with Eleanor Williams, his first wife's devoted companion, in 1879. There was little enough to attract them. Rooms lined with musty old books do not appeal to the youthful taste, nor was their owner any less formidable. "The Professor" was now an old man with an impressive white beard as befitted one possessed of so striking a profile. The combination of great learning with an entire absence of a sense of humour is at all times terrifying, and those steel-blue eyes gleaming behind shaggy eyebrows were ready to transfix the small visitor if she used any unusual or slang expression. Even the little visitor's name was not right. "Lizzie? Elizabeth? It ought not to be Elizabeth; why are you not called Lisbeth? That is much prettier and better. Will you be called Lisbeth in the future?" These interviews were alarming: they were as bad as family prayers, which the Professor always conducted. (He published a selection of family prayers in 1878.) There was the atmos-

phere of constraint, making you want to run away and hide your face in a cushion. Numinous people are difficult to live with. No wonder that she enjoyed the drives round Weston with the Professor and her great-aunt more than the afternoons spent in the house: there was so much more to see and so much pleasure at being seen that she soon became unconscious of the old man's constraining presence. Not that he was quick-tempered or impatient with the young, but a stiff and courtly demeanour, however polite and kind, is no substitute for a genuine and sympathetic understanding. Yet children often have a strange affection for the eccentric, for they both are rebels against convention, and there were several little girls who worshipped him from far. Other grown-up people might laugh at their ideas, but here was an old gentleman with a white beard who would always listen seriously to whatever was said and never treated you as if you were only a child. How much Hannah, his old servant, must have been amused and pleased by this innocent hero-worship of her master! Meals were sometimes rather terrifying, especially when some of the Professor's strange friends were visiting him. One such visitor in particular would attract the little girl's attention, the hymn-writer, John Hornblower Gill, who happened to be an albino. Discussion of any of his pet subjects would make him gesticulate wildly between the mouthfuls and this would fill her with open-eyed awe and astonishment. They were of course vegetarian meals, though exceptions were made sometimes for the benefit of Mrs. Newman or a visitor. When there was no one to share the wonderful vegetarian dishes that the old cook, Emily, provided, he would sometimes seize the dish, fasten a rug round his shoulders over his three coats, and run across the road to the Bucknalls, some friends of his who lived just opposite, inviting them to taste the delicacy. What his old nurse, "Nelma," who lived to over 90 and spent her declining years under his roof, thought about all this we do not know.

But there was another side to this funny old Professor. His brother's death in 1890 occasioned a good many panegyrics which were distasteful to Francis. He had the youngest brother's jealousy: he disliked being "Cardinal Newman's

brother," and seems to have had what is popularly called an inferiority complex towards him. The splendour of his brother's funeral provoked him exceedingly and in 1891 appeared *Contributions chiefly to the early history of the late Cardinal Newman, with comments, by his brother, F. W. Newman*, which he intended as a dispassionate corrective of the hagiographical legends that had gathered round John Henry. It is a pitiful revelation of the incurable lack of proportion possessed by the author; it is spiteful and unconvincing just for this reason. The poor old Emeritus Professor meant well by his revelations, which he foresaw would be held unbrotherly and which he himself called painful, but unknown to him the canker of jealousy had warped his judgment. The tone of the book may be judged from his confession in the introduction that he had intended to call what he wrote *Anti-Sacerdotalism*. It is sad reading, but we have to remember that the author was within a few years of his ninetieth birthday. In this volume he rescued from oblivion some "Romanizing" poems of his brother's Oxford days: one "Private Judgment," in which wandering souls are bidden have recourse to a Mother "who ne'er let fall One grain of holy Truth," and the other, "Persecution," which Francis describes as setting up "a new Deity, called 'Holy Mother,' who gives mandates to a Priest. He is to tame us into dear, obedient children, and (apparently) into monks, nuns and celibate clergy." These two Papistical poems he considers afford abundant justification for Kingsley's attacks on his brother.

But even the Cardinal's earlier Protestant poems are not allowed to be forgotten: they would show the Roman Catholics the sort of person the real John Henry Newman was. For it can only have been with a view to causing trouble that he also re-edited a melodramatic poem which his brother and John William Bowden had jointly written and published anonymously in their undergraduate days. Its subject was "St. Bartholomew's Eve," but the authors are not equal to it, and the result is poor Protestant rhetoric. Bowden is said to have written the historical and picturesque passages, Newman the

theological. Presumably the following may therefore be attributed to Newman:—

“Now through each massive aisle and long arcade
The dark-stol'd fathers move in dull parade,
Count the slow bead or kiss the sacred wood,
Piously false or credulously good.”

The Professor in his footnotes suggests incredibly inept emendations, mainly in the supposed interests of grammar.

The Cardinal had been well aware of his brother's prejudices. Writing to a friend soon after joining the Roman communion, he says: “My brother is coming to see me at Maryvale; I saw him yesterday. Why should he come? I think he has some obscure idea about thumbscrews.” The truth is the brothers never had got on well since early Oxford days. How he removed a print of the Blessed Virgin which John had ordered to be put in his lodgings is too well known to be repeated. Cardinal Newman himself, writing in 1877, said, “Much as we love each other, neither would like to be mistaken for the other!”

He is generally supposed to have died a Christian; indeed he wished it to be known that he died a Christian. But what did he mean by this? “My now sufficient definition of a Christian—‘one who in heart and steadily is a disciple of Jesus in upholding the prayer called the Lord's Prayer as the highest and purest in any known national religion.’” This is still the Unitarian speaking; a Mohammedan might be a Christian on that definition. But still he *had* altered; in his address at Newman's funeral, the Rev. J. Temperley Gray said: “Of late his attitude towards Christ had undergone a great change. He confessed to me only very recently that for years he had held on to Christianity by the skirts of St. Paul, ‘but now,’ he said, ‘Paul is less and less, and Christ is more and more.’” It must be admitted that his *Mature Thoughts on Christianity* (1897) gives little indication of it. Christ might be “more and more” to him, but he was not yet his Lord and his God.

We have no contemporary figure like him: humourless professors of classics we know and teetotal Unitarians; there

are still dabblers in politics who live on lettuces and onions. It is the Victorian seriousness—all that the Romans understood by “gravitas,” that is so far to seek, and that is the only key to the enigmatic figure of Francis William Newman. His whole life was a quest, a search for truth, and he would follow the argument, lead him where it would. His brother found peace (or was it a sword?) in the Roman communion, but there was no fitting *him* into any ecclesiastical system. He saw too plainly the narrowness and obscurantism of the Tractarian appeal for his evangelical heart to be attracted by it. However inevitable and intelligible to us may be their narrowness of range and outlook, to Francis Newman the Oxford Movement seemed a ruinous setting back of the clock, and we may see the value of his opposition when we honestly consider how much Tractarian belief has long been abandoned by their successors. The inerrancy of the Scriptures? Francis early saw how incapable was this dogma of defence. The idealization of the early church? He saw how fantastic was the common Tractarian veneration for everything primitive. Who now thinks the Irish bishoprics should not have been suppressed? Do we threaten to renounce our orders if the Quicunque Vult be not regularly said thirteen times in the year? We are hardly surprised when priests speak of the “legend of Hell” — how far are we in all this from the Tractarians! Cardinal Newman’s eccentric brother had got hold of *some* important aspects of religion, though admittedly he was unduly negative. It was largely his own perversity that kept tripping him up and prevented greater progress in his religious beliefs. His faith, such as it was, was dearly bought and is not to be despised. He is not one of the least worthy sons of the nineteenth century.

KENNETH N. ROSS.

(The documentary sources of this study which I have consulted are chiefly F. W. Newman’s own writings, the D.N.B., and his *Memoirs and Letters*, by I. G. Sieveking, a volume which makes up in enthusiasm for what it lacks in arrangement.)

ART. IV.—THE PLACE OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY
IN THE STUDY OF RELIGION.*

** The Inaugural Lecture of the first occupant of the Chair of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the University of Leeds.*

WHEN the foundation of the now famous Chair of l'Histoire Générale des Religions at the Collège de France was first proposed some forty years ago, a Senator objected, "How can there be a history of religions? Either one believes in a religion, and then everything in it appears natural; or one does not believe in it, and then everything in it appears absurd!" So long as this view obtained the question of a University including in its curriculum a scientific and historical investigation of religious or magico-religious phenomena was hardly worthy of serious consideration, and it was not until a fundamental change in attitude towards the whole question occurred in the later part of the last century that such chairs became possible. To-day, I believe, confining the estimate to the more important universities, over thirty professorships are devoted wholly or in part to this department of research.¹

How has the change come about, and what is its significance? In ancient times some attention was paid to the beliefs and customs of other races, or groups of peoples, and Herodotus, the father of history, has also been called "the first anthropologist of religion." But so long as a sharp distinction was made between what was known on the one hand as "Natural Religion" (comprising, as it was asserted, the "superstitions" and "false doctrines" of the heathen), and on the other the revealed truths vouchsafed to Israel and the Christian church, little progress was possible in a scientific and unprejudiced study of religion as a whole. This our French Senator was not slow to recognize. Thus, as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the Deists in England postulated a

¹ cf. R. R. Marett, *Anthropology* (London, N.D.), p. 204.

primeval revelation of religion pure and undefiled before it was contaminated by "priests" who invented a system of ritual and belief calculated to obscure the original truths imparted to the human race on the threshold of its existence.

In Germany, however, about this time thought was beginning to take a new direction. The idea of evolution implicit in the new astronomy, assumed a dominant position in the philosophy of Kant and Schelling, and in the skilful hands of Hegel it became the key to world-history. Kant having shown how the freedom of the individual will could be reconciled with the evolution of society according to an ascertainable law, it remained for Hegel to reveal the process of the political development as a gradual realisation of the idea of freedom. Furthermore, as humanity is one progressive and perfectible being or organism, which advances by becoming more complete and reasonable, so the religious relation, he taught, "was a process within the mind, developing itself from lower to higher stages and forms according to immanent laws, laws which are essentially the same in the macrocosm of humanity as in the microcosm of the individual."²

Thus, he provided the key for the understanding of the history of religion as a permanent and independent activity of spirit. Moreover, with the aid of a monistic definition, which, in the light of our present knowledge can hardly be regarded as satisfactory, or even tenable, he made an extended survey of the religious systems of the world, so far as the evidence available in his day allowed. If he made the facts fit his scheme, at least he maintained the essential unity of the human race, like the modern anthropologist, and showed development to be an integral element in the life of mind and in the religious aspect of experience. For him the history of religion was the evolution of the divine in the soul to higher self-consciousness, and from this point of view, he set forth the sequence of the development of religions.³

² O. Pfleiderer, *The Philosophy of Religion* (Lond., 1887), vol. ii, p. 80.

³ *Philosophie de Religion*. Fr. Trans. A. Vera. (Paris, 1876) vol. ii, p. 9 ff.

But inasmuch as religion on this hypothesis was an attitude towards the Absolute in its unity, it constituted an expression of reality belonging essentially to the domain of philosophy rather than to that of science. Apart from the difficulties raised by the ambiguity involved in Hegel's position concerning the Absolute in philosophy, and the concept of God in theology, the study of religion could never come into his own so long as it was subordinated to any system which used the facts of religion to establish its own doctrines. Religious phenomena as distinct from spiritual experience, must be investigated on their own merits historically and comparatively independent of any pre-conceived theories or accepted loyalties.

It is this task that has been undertaken by anthropologists and archæologists since the scientific study of the workings of the human mind as they find expression in social organization, moral and legal sanctions and magical and religious beliefs and practices, became established under the dominating influence of the great revolution in thought initiated by Darwin in 1859. With the theological or philosophical truth or falsehood of religion anthropology, of course, has nothing to do. "It holds itself absolutely aloof from such questions," as J. H. Huxley pointed out in his Presidential Address to Section H at the British Association as long ago as 1878. "But the natural history of religion, and the origin and growth of the religions entertained by the different tribes of the human race, are within its proper and legitimate province."⁴

In pursuing an anthropological investigation of the history of religion, we are confronted at once, however, with an initial problem concerning method and data. The anthropologist being a student of human origins in the scientific sense, when he endeavours to play the part of historian is brought up sharply at a certain point by a lack of direct evidence. Since the aim of historical investigation is to give an accurate description of a people, society or series of events at a given time, and to estimate chronologically the changes that have occurred

⁴ *Brit. Assoc. Report*, Dublin (Lond., 1879) p. 575.

therein, as soon as written records fail to supply the necessary material, we pass from the realm of verifiable knowledge to the nebulous sphere of conjecture. What the study of modern savage races yields is not a history so much as "a number of pictures of given peoples each taken as it were by an instantaneous photograph at a given time."⁵ To turn these snapshots into a cinematograph film of a historic sequence of events is to confuse the issue, since customs and beliefs manifesting a superficial resemblance to one another are frequently brought together regardless of the non-comparability of the actual occurrences. Before it is possible to compare any institution, rite or myth in a given area with corresponding phenomena elsewhere, all the factors have to be taken into account which have led to the precise course of the development.

Sometimes it is possible to correlate archæological and anthropological evidence and so work out a chronological sequence, but even in this promising approach to the problem of origins, it has to be remembered that the ancient and the primitive are by no means identical. We know, for instance, that among the Central and Northern tribes of Australia elaborate and highly conventionalized totemic designs play a prominent part in the initiation and *intichiuma* ceremonies, and that rock-paintings, sculptures and drawings occur in sacred spots, such as Emily Gap, tabu to the uninitiated.⁶ A superficial similarity in the representations in the decorated Palæolithic caves, and Mesolithic and Neolithic rock-shelters of France and Spain has led to hasty generalizations concerning the existence of the institution of totemism in Aurignacian and Magdalenian times.

At first it seemed that the theoretical construction of Robertson Smith, and the elaborate psychological superstructure erected upon it more recently by Freud and his

⁵ Hobhouse, Wheeler, Ginsberg, *The Material and Social Institutions of Simpler Peoples* (Lond., 1930) p. 2.

⁶ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (Lond., 1899). pp. 193ff, 199ff, 206ff.

school, rested upon evidence capable of archæological demonstration. An investigation which I have carried out over a number of years of the prehistoric paintings and drawings in their original homes in the Dordogne, the Pyrenees and Eastern Spain, has convinced me, however, that they will not bear this interpretation. To justify this conclusion would lead me into a technical discussion which would scarcely be in place here, and I have only introduced the subject by way of illustration of the extreme caution that is needed in matters of this kind in arguing from the present to the past.

In dealing with material collected among people in a primitive state of culture, due allowance has to be made for the changes that have occurred throughout the ages. Development, degeneration and disintegration, to say nothing of external influences, are factors which require careful consideration. Without the aid of literary records we can have only fragmentary information, mainly of a descriptive character, concerning the development of human institutions. No comparison or classification of this data can determine how institutions grew, any more than the classification of existing rocks tells the geologist how existing strata were formed.

In view of these difficulties a new school of social anthropologists has arisen, associated with the names of Professor Malinowski and Professor Radcliffe-Brown, which rejects all conjectural reconstructions of the origin of an institution when there is no information based on reliable historical records. Instead it concentrates on the function that every custom and idea, like every material object of human design, fulfils within the integral system of culture of which it constitutes an indispensable part. Thus, for example, the type of desires and day dreaming expressed in mythology are correlated to the social structure of kinship. Therefore, myth in primitive psychology cannot be treated as typically aetiological or explanatory in its aim. Its business, as Dr. Marett has recently remarked, is "not to satisfy curiosity but to confirm the faith.

It is there to cater, not for the speculative man with his 'Why?' but for the practical man with 'How if not thus?'⁷

This new orientation in the scientific study of social phenomena is, I believe, fruitful of results, and a good deal of my own anthropological work has been and is being done along these lines.⁸ Nevertheless, the historical aspect of the material cannot be ignored. If it is not true to say with the late F. W. Maitland "that by and by anthropology will have the choice between being history and being nothing,"⁹ there has been a reaction during the last quarter of a century in favour of a historical method. Moreover, if we are ever to arrive at any estimate, however tentative, of the earlier developments of social and religious phenomena, it is difficult to see how this is to be accomplished unless anthropology is called in aid.

In Germany as early as 1898 Frobenius attempted to establish the existence of a series of culture-horizons (*kulturkreise*) within which he assumed human institutions had developed, and in the skilful hands of Graebner, Ankermann and Schmidt, a number of "spheres" have been worked out chronologically as culture-strata. Subsequently, the late W. H. R. Rivers applied the method in his investigations in the Pacific, and in his *History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge, 1914) he set forth a theory of culture migrations based on a comparison of sociological with linguistic facts historically analysed. In the New World similar analyses have been undertaken by Wissler, Kroeber and Lowie.

Such ethnological analyses and reconstructions of pre-documentary data in the historical study of religion become hypothetical, however, and sometimes even fantastic, when continuity is broken and cultures recede farther and farther from one another in time and space. But if the anthropological evidence of this class of material is subject to its limitations,

⁷ *Faith, Hope and Charity* (Oxford, 1932) p. 106.

⁸ cf. James, *Primitive Ritual and Belief* (Lond., 1917). *Folk-Lore* XLIII, 2 (1932), p. p. 13. *Christian Myth and Ritual* (Lond. 1933).

⁹ *The Body Politic in Collected Papers* (Camb., 1911), vol. iii, p. 295.

the literary and archæological sources of our knowledge of the early civilizations, which form the background of historical religions, can hardly claim uncritical reliance. Take, for example, Judaism. An adequate study of the Old Testament on the historical side cannot be undertaken unless the place of the Hebrews in the Ancient World is first determined, together with their cultural contacts with the surrounding civilizations in the Near East. But the early monumental evidence from Egypt, Babylonia, and Syria is confused and fragmentary, though a flood of new light is being thrown upon the problems by recent excavations at such sites as Ur and Kish in Mesopotamia, and now Rash Shamra in Syria, not to mention Professor Garstang's work at Jericho and other Palestinian cities.

Egypt has long been a happy hunting ground for archæologists, and the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script has revealed the contents of some of the earliest surviving documents in human history. Since religion touched life at every point in the valley of the Nile, in this area it is possible to trace the development of religious thought and practice through a continuous period of 3,000 years or more. Nevertheless, such order as exists in the Pyramid Texts, for example, is due to the priests whose concern was to maintain a State fiction of giving life to the king. Their efforts therefore made confusion worse confounded, and it must be admitted that, despite the evidence of the Tel-el-Amarna letters, the Egyptian data fail the student of Hebrew tradition at such crucial points as the Exodus and the period of the settlement.

In Palestine itself our knowledge of Canaanite religion is far less complete than that of the river-valley civilizations, but the inscriptional material from such sites as Gezer, Taanach and Megiddo, is now being supplemented by the excavations to which I have referred, together with those at Byblos, Santaria and Bethshan. As regards the Ras Shamra texts, only a small section has been published by M. Virolleaud, but if we are not at present in a position to evaluate their entire contents, enough

has been done to show that they are full of promise, especially as the site at Cape Fennel, on the northern extremity of the Syrian coast, is situated in the ancient land of Amurru, which was closely linked with Palestine in early times. Speaking generally, if there are a large number of very important pieces of the jig-saw puzzle still missing, taken as a whole, such fragments of archæological material as we possess confirm in outline the historical picture given in the Bible.

Turning to the actual literature of the Old Testament, the bulk of the documentary records, as is now well-known, comes from the ninth century B.C. and onwards, though the sources are of various ages and characteristics. If real history is often contained in ancient folk-lore and legend, oral tradition, sacred drama, poetry and *midrashim*, it is not until the time of the prophet Amos, about the year 760 B.C., that we encounter the actual words of a living writer. Therefore, to arrive at an accurate estimate of Judaism as a historical religion, the literature has to be read critically, keeping in mind the circumstances under which the books were compiled, and the variants in the texts, *massoretic*, Greek, Syriac and Latin. The various component elements of the narratives in their form require careful determination, since all the historical writings of the Old Testament are compilations from earlier works which the redactors have combined irrespective of the nature of the traditions, or of their consistency. Hence the dual documents of the creation story, and of David's benevolence to Saul (I Sam. xxiv, xxvi), to mention only two examples of a process familiar to practically every serious reader of the literature. The accumulated labours of a devoted band of scholars since the days of Astruc (1753) have produced a critical analysis of the documentary sources of the Hexateuch and of the so-called "historical books," which is generally recognized to be satisfactory for the purposes of historical investigation, at any rate so far as the main scheme is concerned, while most of the later material interwoven with the utterances of the prophets has been distinguished. The sources of the Wisdom Literature, and the extent of Persian influence on Jewish belief are among other

fields of research which have yielded results in the comparative history of religion in this area.

If time permitted, this rapid survey of the application of historical methods in the study of the religion of the Old Testament might be extended to a consideration of the similar achievements of New Testament scholars. Speaking as I am in Leeds, however pressed for time I may be, I cannot refrain from calling attention to the invaluable work being done in this connexion by Dr. Vincent Taylor, under whose influence the *dissecta membra* of the first body of Christian teaching are being revealed. It would now seem that the tradition of the words of Jesus has been much better preserved than is to be found in the record of the words of any great teacher of the past, in striking contrast, for instance, to those of Muhammad, whose sayings were jotted down on palm leaves, pieces of leather, stones and blade-bones of animals, and subsequently put together without any definite order in the compilation of the Qur'an. These obscurities have been further complicated by the imperfect character of the Arabic script, and the dialectical peculiarities in the speech of the original recorders. Finally, the thought of the illiterate prophet was far from clear, and his knowledge of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, to which he made frequent reference, was as hazy as it was inaccurate. In contrast to Judaism and Christianity, the literary sources of Islam have yet to be placed on a sound critical basis.

While, however, it is impossible to isolate the central figures of a historical religion from their context in history, nevertheless religion, being essentially a way of life, demands a wider approach than is possible along the lines of scientific and historical investigation, if it is to be understood in its true significance. Thus, as regards the New Testament, its religious value centres in the person and work of Christ interpreted and understood in terms of spiritual experience based upon certain historical facts and factors. Therefore, the two approaches, historical and philosophical, are needed in an adequate study of a religion like Christianity. For the anthropologist, the archæologist and the historian religion is a universal attribute

of human society, and is studied as such. But there comes a point where the historico-scientific evidence breaks off, and sooner or later the reflective mind is confronted with the fundamental question: What is the significance of the phenomenon? What is its truth, and what does it mean for human life?

As Dr. Marett has pointed out, it is the function of philosophy and theology to supplement the "how" of science, and the "that" of history, with a "why."¹⁰ When anthropology took over from philosophy the search for religious origins, it made no attempt to arrive at absolute beginnings and causal explanations. It was and is content to study religion as a historical process and a functionary element in society. But in the human organism mind is an organ of "spirit," and on this level the activities of higher orders of reality operate. From its earliest reactions to the awe-inspiring, or "numinous," spiritual experience constitutes an awareness of a relationship between the secular and the sacred, the normal and the abnormal, the transitory and the permanent. This psychological attitude is independent of logical thought, and of a scientific or philosophical interpretation of the universe and its problems. But in the endeavour of the human spirit to secure a place in the sacred and eternal order—to enter into conscious and tangible relationship with Ultimate Reality—it has devised a technique for dealing with the incalculable element in experience, and of giving religious evaluation in concrete form to its inmost yearnings and strivings.

Always and everywhere man tends "to dance out his religion," as Tylor aptly remarked, and to erect an ideological super-structure on the foundations of his fundamental experience. Feeling is biologically prior to thought, and the most rudimentary conceptions of religion lie in a vague emotional apprehension of transcendent mystery. But in primitive society symbolism permeates every aspect of human activity. Therefore gradually the whole supernatural world of faith and fancy

¹⁰ R. R. Marett, *Psychology and Folk-Lore* (Lond., 1920), p. 153 f.

has emerged as the fundamental reactions and concepts have become intellectualized and evaluated, till at length a philosophical and metaphysical method of reasoning has dawned. As these evaluations have become systematized, the elemental facts of spiritual experience have been reduced to intelligible order, and have assumed institutional form. At this stage a theology and a philosophy of religion have become established.

Thus, for example, the emotional response to and evaluation of the "mysterium tremendum," as Otto would say, found expression in the concept of Deity as an awareness of a power awful and mysterious as the ground of the universe. At this conceptional and ideomorphic level of intelligence cosmological theories begin to make their appearance, and a new world of theological and philosophical thought and speculation opens out before the student of religion. Long before the human mind indulged in rational interpretations of the universe, however, theism was established as the outcome of religious experience rather than of any process of reasoning. With the growth of interest in and knowledge of causation and natural law efforts were made to correlate the personal attitude of religion with the ground of reality manifested in nature. Thus some primitive cults, and all the higher religions, have a philosophy and theology, while to-day even modern science on its astro-physical side has been driven to postulate an ultimate order of reality knowable only symbolically, and presupposing some metaphysical interpretation.

It is no longer possible to think of material bodies floating in a homogenous and continuous space since matter is regarded as consisting of high-speed energies developing huge curved permanent fields of space-time, which constitute the paths, and determine the course, events follow in the natural order, extending far beyond sensible matter. In the bewildering complexity of the ultimate nature of the electron, we appear to reach the confines of a new and higher order of reality that is only capable of expression in terms of symbols and formulae, while in the mysterious Quantum Process atoms seem to pass from one state to another by a series of jumps through some

wave action symbolised by the letter Ψ . According to Sir Arthur Eddington, this is an elementary indefinable of such an abstract nature that it can be expressed concretely only by means of symbols, while the behaviour of quanta-like particles out of space-time, suggests a defiance of the principle of causation, and of the uniformity of Nature. If this be so, it takes us into the realms of chance and probability.

Whither this new and unfamiliar space-time world with its quantic properties is leading us it is premature to say with any degree of certainty, but clearly modern scientific investigation has not rendered superfluous a philosophical interpretation of the universe in its more ultimate aspects. In the light of the new electronic constitution of matter, and the relativity conception of the basic structure of the universe, the old philosophical problem of the possibility of conceiving an objective external world apart from mind, and the reality to be ascribed to space and time, come into prominence once more with all the glamour of scientific discovery about them. Moreover, in the Quantum hypothesis, and the recognition of "emergence," or an unpredictable quality in the evolutionary process, the mechanistic interpretation of physico-chemical and biological events has given place to a view of the universe in which indeterminate units not purely physical or material arise, independent of the space-time or evolutionary matrix of their occurrence. Salient examples of the appearance of genuinely new emergents in the organic order are afforded in the advent of life and mind, reflective thought, and the whole new world of values and qualities comprehended in human personality.

A unifying principle other than blind mechanical operation is required to account for the evolutionary process. If the Aristotelian concept of an Unmoved Mover is in great measure ruled out of our scientific scheme, motion does not explain itself, and the problem of creation is not solved when the solar system has been traced back to its origin in the inconceivable remoteness of the stellar universe, and the blazing energy at its threshold. Modern physics assumes that space and time are abstractions from the physical world, the four dimensional

continuum being one in which space and time are so perfectly merged into one that the laws of nature make no distinction between them.

As Sir James Jeans has said, "to-day there is a wide measure of agreement, which on the physical side of science approaches almost to unanimity, that the stream of knowledge is heading towards a non-mechanical reality; the universe begins to look more like a great thought than a great machine. Mind no longer appears as an accidental intruder into the realms of matter: we are beginning to suspect that we ought rather to hail it as the creator and governor of the realm of matter—not of course our individual minds, but the mind in which the atoms out of which our individual minds have grown exist as thoughts."¹¹

On this quasi-idealistic view of the physical world and its operations, ultimate reality is reduced to an immaterial energy emerging at certain points as mind and consciousness, but the initial problem remains unsolved. The electronic hypothesis, like the theory of emergence, is merely descriptive not explanatory, and the ultimate source of mind has still to be determined. Both mind and matter imply "noumena" behind "phenomena," and thinkers like Whitehead have been led to introduce a transcendent reference—"eternal objects" and a "principle of concretion," that is God—to make sense of the physical universe. To-day, therefore, the scientific and philosophical approach to the external world takes us beyond nature in a search for ultimate reality.

Since the two disciplines converge in their final concepts, it is impossible to keep them in water-tight compartments. As Dr. Inge has recently pointed out, these new discoveries and new theories of modern astronomy and physics cannot be brushed aside as irrelevant to metaphysics and theology, and any attempt to repeat the mistake made in the last century, when some philosophers followed the "high *a priori* road,"

¹¹ *The Mysterious Universe* (Camb., 1930) p. 148.

would result in a still more widespread turning away from philosophy on the part of thinking people as "nothing but worthless chatter."¹² Therefore, the study of religion on its philosophical side must take account of the implications of these revelations, and at the same time exercise a cautious reserve in view of the nebulous condition of the fundamental conceptions of physics in these regions beyond sensible experience.

Inasmuch as the concepts of religion rest on their own foundations, neither philosophy nor theology is bound by current scientific speculations. The proper attitude of the several approaches to reality would seem to be that of a respectful if critical regard for the conclusions arrived at by duly accredited workers in their respective fields. The philosopher and the theologian may well be content with the assertion that modern research in the physical sciences leaves room for a theistic interpretation of the universe, thereby opening the way for an investigation of religious values within their proper spheres. If the teleological argument is "the oldest, the clearest, and that most in conformity with the common reason of humanity," as Kant maintained,¹³ belief in God, in point of anthropological fact, did not arise from any act of reasoning, nor from rational speculations concerning the universe. Long before the days of Plato and Aristotle, the Indian mystics, and the Hebrew prophets, religious experience, as I have pointed out, had penetrated the mystery of divine transcendence and established the concept of Deity. In the study of religion, therefore, the historical and anthropological side of the subject is in a sense more fundamental than its later philosophical interpretations and systematizations, since it reveals the age-long struggle of the soul of man to express its inmost strivings in concrete forms and actions. Moreover, facts are less at the mercy of passing modes of thought than speculations.

Nevertheless, while religion long antedates philosophical evaluations of its experience and reactions, to see the pheno-

¹² *God and the Astronomers* (Lond., 1933) p. v.

¹³ *Critique of Pure Reason* p. 383.

menon steadily and to see it whole requires a comprehensive view such as philosophy supplies. Unless reason is made the handmaid of experience it is all too easy for "the things of the spirit" to become crude emotionalisms and aberrations uncontrolled by any intellectual guide. The history of religion is only too prolific in examples of this error. Among theologians it is a familiar dictum that "revelation" is "progressive," and this implies that what has been given must be ever newly-grasped—made real in life, interpreted, and expressed to meet the needs of each successive age. The study of religion, be it for academic purposes, or as a way of life, demands both a philosophical and historical approach if it is to be understood in its essential nature and ever-developing content.

The complexity of the subject, however, with its several avenues of approach, and the fact that it has played such a determining part in the development of human culture, gives it a special claim on the serious consideration of a university, and not least on that of a modern foundation. Theology to-day may not be hailed the Queen of Sciences embracing the whole field of learning, sacred and profane, as in former times, but the function of religion in the development of society has been such that it is impossible to understand and evaluate the progress of civilization in isolation from its religious context.

But this is not all. There is a deepening conviction, which is by no means confined to what might be called ecclesiastical circles, that religion has something of vital importance to give to the social, moral and spiritual life of the community in the present, as integral to its well-being as anything that it has accomplished in the past. Hence the attention that is now being paid to the question of religious knowledge by educational authorities in various parts of the country. If this work is to go forward along really sound lines, the intellectual foundations must be securely laid, especially among those upon whom the responsibility will rest to give religious instruction in secondary schools and colleges.

While something more than academic training is required if religion is to become once more an animating principle in

human culture, nevertheless it is within the province, and indeed it is the proper function, of a university to supply what may be described as the raw material of theological knowledge, and that of the best quality available. Whatever the future may hold in the matter of the formation of a Faculty of Theology in this University, I venture to think that, however inadequate the present holder may be for the task, no better starting-point could be found in supplying this need than that of a Chair devoted to the impartial investigation of the history and philosophy of religion, such as has now been made possible by the munificence of a generous benefactor.

E. O. JAMES.

ART. V.—THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH'S
UNBROKEN CONTINUITY WITH THE
UNDIVIDED CHURCH.

IN the development of my subject, I do not want to stress the fact that the Orthodox Church is the only unbroken continuation of the undivided church. I am going to show the essence of this continuity; the clearness of which, I agree, depends upon the objective examination, both theoretical and practical, of the evidences and facts which would justify the claim of the Greek Orthodox Church. This claim is based not simply on enthusiastic and selfish reasoning, but on facts which are rarely if ever accentuated, and which must not be overlooked, because they are essential to the real understanding of our church. These facts can be seen not only in the dogmatic, but in the other functions of church organization, such as: worship, administration, the relations between church and state, the church's social life, and so forth.

I have chosen the term "undivided church," not only because there is no serious doubt as to the unbroken continuity of the primitive church and the church before the great schism, but also because this undivided church is the one toward which, as friends of union, we must look. The undivided church shows us that neither internal nor external uniformity were ever regarded as essential to unity which was surely based on freedom within the limits of faith, as is expressed in the two sayings of ancient fathers: "id tenemus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est" and "In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas."

But I must, before proceeding to the central point of my subject, give a short explanation why I use the term "Greek Orthodox." Not because I am speaking of the "*Greek Orthodox Church*" alone (that is to say the section of the

Orthodox Church serving persons Greek by nationality), nor because, by employing an old and frequently used term, I wish to flatter my own nation; but because the Orthodox Church, born, grown and developed in Greek surroundings, has undoubtedly taken on a Greek character which can never be erased, for it is an essential element of its substance. To ignore this element, either in the historical examination of the past or in future development, would simply mean describing and trying to form something which could only with great difficulty be recognized as Orthodox. The fact that the early church was Greek in its thought and appearance, and the further fact that in the development of Orthodox doctrine the great Fathers were Greek in thought and education, impressed on the Orthodox Church an indelible seal which made that church Greek, in contrast to the Latin or Roman seal which was so evidently impressed on the Western Church or churches before and after the Reformation. As we go further we shall see what a great role this element plays in the Orthodox Church and in Orthodox thought, but it is sufficient to point out here that this Greek character is quite essential and that, without it, Orthodoxy is scarcely recognizable. I am accentuating this because in past centuries, due to adverse circumstances, the Orthodox Church and Orthodox theology have both received, quite unconsciously, various Western influences—from the Catholic as well as the Protestant side. Both these influences were entirely foreign to Orthodox thought and idealism, and opposed to the Greek spirit. As long as education was limited, this fact was mostly unrecognized. Consequently many Orthodox theologians of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even the nineteenth centuries, with a quiet conscience, put forward doctrines undoubtedly influenced by Roman and Protestant views. We new Greek theologians are trying, as our chief effort, to clear Orthodox doctrine and thought of these foreign elements, and to discover the real Orthodox basis of the Fathers, who were Greek and who taught a self-sufficient theology entirely adequate for further development. I hope it is understood that in doing this we do not decry Western thought as being

inferior. We are trying, rather, to rehabilitate Orthodox theology in its original clear Greek form.

From this point of view you will be able to understand, perhaps, why we Greek theologians do not entirely agree with some of the theories and developments of Russian theologians. The mystic element is naturally stronger amongst them, as clearness of thought is stronger amongst the Greeks. I am sorry to have to point out this slight diversity in Orthodox thought, but it is very necessary because, if not taken into serious consideration, it may, in many instances, cause serious misunderstanding. Of course you must not think that this attitude is an effort to "Greekify" theology and the church, for we certainly are fully conscious of the norm given by the classic teachers and fathers of the church, such as Athanasius, Gregory, Basil, Chrysostom, Macarius, and even the later ones, such as John Damascene and St. Gregory Palamas.

But let us try now briefly to outline the points which show the unbroken lines and threads of the continuity of the old catholic, apostolic, and undivided church as manifested in the Orthodox Church.

I.

A. First, beginning with Faith.

In speaking of Faith we understand quite naturally (a) the content and (b) the form or formula of Faith. In regard to the first, both the primitive (apostolic and post-apostolic) and the old undivided church restricted themselves to the chief lines of Christian doctrine. In spite of the high value the church laid upon traditional faith, the doctrine of the Eastern Church has never been developed in a speculative way as was the case in the Western Church. Even at the time of the œcumenical synods the church never showed a speculative interest regarding secondary details of faith beyond the great dogmatical lines of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the two natures of Christ, and of man's salvation. The rest did and still does exist on the basis of general acceptance in the sense of real tradition as expressed by the above-mentioned words of Vincent of Lerins. Even to-day there are several detailed

points of the Christian faith which have been accepted by general consent without being subjects of special theological interest, just because church freedom contents itself with the general lines of faith. This brings us to the second point—the form or formulation of faith. Both in the primitive and in the later undivided church the formulation of faith never went beyond the formulæ of certain creeds, which defined several points of faith in very general terms, without going on to the speculative attitude of the definitions of Trent. The most striking example is the so-called Nicean-Constantinopolitan Creed, which is the one creed recognized as authentic by the Orthodox Church and the authority of which is generally accepted by all Christian churches. While I, as a student of Canon Law, quite naturally feel the need of order, of the absolute regulation and formulation of every detail of the Christian and Church faith, I cannot but recognize the value of the liberty of my own church, in that it has avoided that speculative attitude and non-elasticity of the Latin Church, which brings and can very often bring disaster. One example will demonstrate this fact sufficiently: What a really valuable attitude is represented by the Greek Orthodox teaching of the *μεταβολή* of the elements of the Holy Eucharist of the Orthodox Church in contrast to the speculative and scholastic teaching on the same subject of the Latin doctrine of transubstantiation. The necessity of following both the content of the faith in its general lines and its formulation in a more general way, is still the conviction of present day Orthodoxy. No serious Orthodox theologian of to-day would accept or endorse the Romanised so-called symbolic Confessions of Moghila or Dositheus and the Calvinistic Confession of Cyril Lucar. You see that, apart from dogmatic details, which cannot be the subject of this article, the whole attitude of the Orthodox Church of to-day regarding faith follows exactly the same lines and the same methods as the primitive and the undivided church. Even the expressed content, if I may speak so, of the faith, is not different from that of the undivided church. This is not a weakness, as Roman Catholic theology would gladly

call it, but rather a strength, because faith is not continuously subject to evolution and development in its content, but only to development of formulation which must never be contrary to the foundations laid in the Holy Scriptures and especially in the New Testament, and the general consent of the genuine tradition of the church.

The Orthodox Church acknowledges what the œcumenical synods have accepted and recognized unanimously. While other churches, praised as progressive, or really falsely conservative, have added to the commonly accepted faith elements of later date, which are very often found to contradict the dogmatic foundations of the early church, the Orthodox Church has avoided any further dogmatic development, or formulation of new dogmas. This is due not only to the belief of the Orthodox Church in not changing the old faith, but also to the difficulty of calling together an œcumenical synod. Apart from technical difficulties arising from national and political circumstances which were even for centuries an unthinkable burden on the church and a real impediment to her progress and development, we must realize that the Orthodox Church, very often censured for difficulties she has faced for so many centuries, and still faces, in calling an œcumenical synod, has never disregarded the reasons which would prevent that synod really being œcumenical. We do take into consideration some of the conditions lacking perhaps to-day for the real œcumenicity of such a synod, and we are deeply concerned in studying them in order not to go beyond the lines kept by the undivided church in such serious matters. The standpoint, therefore, of the Orthodox Church about its dogmatic position is at the same time a powerful standpoint because the church, if again united, can continue its doctrinal development from the expressed content of faith of the undivided church preserved in its entirety by the Orthodox Church. You may ask about the dogmatic teaching of the later Orthodox theological world in the period from the great Schism to the present. I am sure that all Orthodox theologians would agree entirely that we shall have to clear away whatever material which is not strictly Orthodox—that is

to say those elements which come into Orthodox doctrine from the influence of the speculative theology of the West—Catholic or Protestant. What remains as commonly accepted will be recognized as Orthodox. This element is the one to which the Orthodox and the other churches are looking. This is, and is going to be proved, the common ground on which most probably the several Christian churches will meet together in order to form again the reunited church. Churches which believe themselves nearer to each other and which really are trying in a spirit of co-operation to clear away these problems, will reach through that common research the common ground of the undivided church. Other churches will surely follow, and the great dogmatic truth that “all shall be one” will be realized here on earth by those who believe, not what is their own, but what is Christ’s conviction. I scarcely need to say that to our churches, the Anglican and the Orthodox, the way is happily open, as I believe, toward their future approach and finally toward their reunion.

II.

But let us follow now in a few sentences the unbroken threads of the continuation with the undivided church in worship. I am not going, of course, to expound the extremely rich and complicated system of worship of the Orthodox Church. Details here also are of secondary importance, but I desire to point out the chief lines on which the worship of the Orthodox Church is based, so that its continuity in worship with the undivided church may be quite evident.

The primitive and undivided church was in a special way the church of the resurrection. The most important event which the early Christians quite specifically celebrated was the resurrection of the Lord. For the early Christians it was not sufficient to fix a certain week in the year during which they celebrated the Cross-Easter first and then the Resurrection-Easter. They fixed the first day of every week to be the commemorative day of our Lord’s resurrection. The *Kyriake*, the Lord’s Day, was so called because it was the day of the

risen Lord. In accordance with this same theory, the Orthodox Church to-day retains this ancient custom, and Sunday is the commemorative week-day of the resurrection. The entire service, from the Vespers of Saturday evening until Sunday afternoon, has as its subject this great event which, according to St. Paul, means so much to the security of faith (I Cor. xv, 12-19). In the Orthodox Church, of all great feast-days, the resurrection is the greatest and most important. The feast day of feast days demonstrates the special character of the Orthodox Church in fully maintaining the spirit and practice of the ancient undivided church which was similarly characterized as the church of the resurrection. This fact, so akin to the Greek character of the Orthodox Church, reminds us of the philosophic attitude of Orthodoxy which attributes more importance to the metaphysical event of the resurrection than to the physical event of the incarnation. The worship of the Orthodox Church, in its mysticism and external and internal symbolism, is an educating whole for the faithful in regard to the oneness of the church and its final purpose, which is the salvation of the soul.

Apart from these general lines on which the worship of the Orthodox Church is conducted, and which are commonly recognized to be the lines of worship of the ancient and undivided church, there are some other points which illustrate that preservation of the ancient church's conception of worship in Orthodoxy.

First, there was and is no distinction between clergy and laity in worship other than that given to the clergy through their position of performing church services. The right to worship is similar for both, and no exclusive rights are recognized for the clergy other than that they are by the grace of God officiating ministers. That is why a priest or a bishop can pray privately for himself, if he likes, just as a layman can, but he cannot perform the sacraments and the services for himself alone, and it is also forbidden to officiate with closed doors unless laymen are present helping and participating in

the service. The clergy are not officiating by their own authority nor for their own benefit, but in God's name. That is why, in their prayers, in which humility before God is expressed in the most humble way, they, praying for themselves first and for the others also, define in the very moment of worship their personal position from their organic capacity as ministers of the church.

Secondly, the proper use of icons and holy relics is nothing but deep reverence for the remembrance of great persons and events. This reverence has no connection with worship—in spite of misuse and abuses—and means nothing but the real expression of the whole mystic body of Christ in both its parts, visible and invisible. To make more vivid the worship of the Orthodox Church, you should try to picture it as a panorama, beginning with the living faithful worshippers and ending with the whole system of icons, the picture of the Pantocrator at the head, prophets, angels, apostles, etc., thus picturing in a symbolic and mystic way the whole church both visible and invisible before the presence of God, praying for the absolute purpose of salvation which is the end and purpose of the whole church. This idea of worship and its purpose was not lacking in the undivided church. The attitude of reverence and veneration of the early Christians for those who died as martyrs for the church and for their human remains must not be forgotten.

Thirdly, the importance of hymnology, in its richness and beauty both of Greek philosophy and poetry, is not to be disregarded, for it comes directly from the undivided church. The whole spirit of theological thought is beautifully expressed in the hymnology of the Orthodox Church, which displays the traditional spirit of the undivided church. The Orthodox Church is still worshipping in the same spirit, in the same form and way as the undivided church, trying to penetrate the mystical depths of the human soul, to bring it in relation to God in the spirit of humility, and working toward its salvation. In full consciousness of the fact that the tradition has not been changed, and, in spite of some natural abuses in periods

of decadence, the Orthodox Church feels itself united with the ancient and undivided church in worshipping God for the purpose for which he sent to earth his son. In this sense the church continues, in and through worship, the redeeming work of Jesus Christ. That is why worship is not a secondary but a chief element in the life of the church, and why the real understanding of its nature and meaning would bring Christians closer together.

III.

But in what way is this continuation manifested in administration? The two chief points which will be considered here are: (a) The fundamental basis of the whole system of organization, and (b) The position of the two classes thereof—the clergy and the laity.

The primitive church was undoubtedly based on very democratic principles. There was a monarchical conception, of course, of the church so far as it concerns the true leader and head of the church, Jesus Christ. He is the only leader and Lord of the church, and from this point of view the church is a monarchy through him, because no one else is recognized in his place. He is the head of the whole church, both visible and invisible. But for the visible part of the church, which needs a human visible administration, the principle, declared in the saying of the Lord regarding the equality of all members of the church, is the basis for the democracy of the church. The Lord gave the foundation principle for the church: "For where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Math. xviii, 20) indicating that these two or three gathered in his name are entirely equal and no special position is reserved for any one of them, and no preference whatever is tolerated in the church, as we see in St. Matthew's Gospel, xx, 22-28.

According to this conception the primitive and undivided church, and in exactly the same way the Orthodox Church, never recognized the position of St. Peter as any higher than that of the other apostles. Consequently, the absolute equality

of the several bishops is recognized, and even the very first of them has no more power than the last bishop on the list. The Oecumenical Patriarch, although the honorary Primate of the whole Orthodox Church, has no greater power than the other bishops, for every bishop has the same rights and duties, regardless of his position and diocese. As a result of the equality of the apostles, the apostolic synod (Acts xv) was the only authority competent to solve the problems referred to it. Thus not one apostle, but the apostolic synod concentrated church authority in itself. Similarly, in the later church and in the church to-day, not this or that bishop, whatever his position may be, but the totality of the bishops, is the competent body to take decisions on serious religious and ecclesiastical subjects. This is not the case with the Roman Catholic Church. That church has either only one bishop, the Bishop of Rome, the others being his simple representatives, without any authority of their own; or it has four degrees of priesthood—deacon, priest, bishop and pope. Thus the œcumenical synod for the whole Orthodox Church and the synod of the bishops for its several departments or autocephalous churches are the highest ecclesiastical authorities in accordance with the democratic spirit of the very foundation of church organization. For the moment I pass over the question of the highest authority of the church, in order to make clear the position of both the clergy and the laity in the Orthodox Church, because the question of authority cannot be understood clearly without the exact definition of the second point.

The church is made up of two classes—the clergy and the laity. The first group is divided into three degrees of priesthood: deacon, priest and bishop, as in the old and undivided church, constituted by our Lord and the apostles, and appointed both by the clergy and laity to govern the church. The laymen are the simple faithful members who are to be governed and guided. Together they form the *plerome* or completion of the church. The position of each of these is based not on duties only, but also on rights; since the clergy have the duty and right to govern the laity, the latter have the duty and

right to be spiritually governed. It is not, therefore, the will of the clergy, and it does not depend upon their own disposition alone, to guide the faithful spiritually through the means of the church. Any layman, if he is a member of proper standing, has the right to demand guidance and to receive the sacraments of the church, and no clergyman can refuse him in accordance with church order. Apart from the characteristic position of each of these classes, each of them has equal rights, and priestly orders do not in any way give superiority or preference in the church, except the external honour of bearing the sacerdotal grace. Therefore, the laity is not a passive mass accepting mechanically the activities of the clergy, but participates in all three expressions of the so-called priestly authority. It has already been said that a priest cannot perform any sacrament without the presence and participation of laymen. I add now that this active participation of the congregation is demonstrated in the many responses it makes during the liturgy, in the prayers and chants, including the Lord's Prayer. Thus a great deal must be said by the congregation during all the services.

Secondly, a good Orthodox layman, as in the ancient and undivided Church, having the *charisma*, was, and is still, always acceptable as a preacher of the word of God. Thirdly, the participation of the laity in the election of the clergy and in the administration of church property, as it was in the ancient and undivided Church, is still indispensable to-day, giving full expression to the rights and position of the laity in the church. The most important point is the equal position of the two classes in the expression of the highest authority of the church. I said before that this authority is not attributed to any bishop, nor even to the Oecumenical Patriarch, and even the oecumenical synod, as such, does not entirely hold this highest authority. This is reserved to the church consciousness, which is nothing other than a kind of public opinion (again the democratic spirit), of both clergy and laity on serious ecclesiastical matters such as faith. Only the oecumenical synod which, *a posteriori*,

has the seal of the unmistakable expression of the church's consciousness, can have the seal of oecumenicity, as the history of the oecumenical synods very clearly shows. This participation of the laity in this highest expression of the church's organization shows the true meaning of its position in the church. Both in this democratic conception of the administration of the church, and in the equal rights and position of the clergy and laity, you will surely see the continuation of the ancient and undivided church, because these conditions were the same in the apostolic church, in which the apostolic synod, although apostolic, was in full accordance with the church consciousness ("Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole church," etc.—Acts xv, 22). It was so when Paul and the other apostles ordained the bishops and presbyters; it was so in the undivided church; and it is also true to-day in the Orthodox Church.

IV.

Now, let us, in a few words, see the continuous thread in the relation of the church, first to the social life, and then to the state. While I am lecturing this, a substitute of mine was reading my thesis before the regional World's Alliance and Life and Work Conferences in Bucharest on the "Biblical and Dogmatic Basis of the Social and Ethical Mission of the Church from the Orthodox Point of View." I showed quite clearly in that thesis that the apostolic church, as the Acts and St. Paul tell us (Acts v, 32), very exactly understood our Lord's highest commandment of Christian love to be not a mere social theory but a practical rule in social life. The great wonder of the primitive church was that, through the strict and continuous application of the ethical commandment of the gospel, a complete transformation took place in society from the political, religious, national and social point of view. For instance, a Roman or a Jew, once he became a Christian, was quite different from what he was before, and this just because he had become a Christian.

Christian philanthropy in all its phases, from the time of the apostles, who chose the deacons to serve tables in order not

to leave the word of God (Acts vi, 2), through the persecution period, aroused on every side the admiration of the whole pagan world. What a wonderful continuation of that charity from the undivided church through the great church fathers and famous monastic leaders! Christians, after the persecution period, were coming into the church, not as in the first period, after a thorough cultivation of the soul, but in masses, bringing into the church all their moral and religious paganism, as well as a worldly spirit adverse to the real Christian mentality. There were the great Greek fathers who criticised in the severest way those straying Christians whose descendants we are to-day. We speak very glibly to-day of the so-called home mission or social work of the Church, but no one can thoroughly comprehend what that means unless he understands what men like St. Basil, Chrysostom, and others did in order to meet the real social needs of their times. The social work of those men, as demonstrated by the "Basiliads," a great philanthropic institution, amazes us, both for the conception and the application of the principles by which social needs were met in the Greek Orthodox Church. The very fact that the class of the so-called inferior clergy consisted of the men who were serving in various departments of the social and philanthropic institutions of the church shows clearly what this activity meant to the church. This work did not stop with the classic period. The Greek Church, even during the most difficult period under the heaviest of yokes, wonderfully preserved this spirit. Those who know the Church of Constantinople even at the present time, know very well the richness in poverty of that church in philanthropic institutions which are organized, directed and administered by the church. Then the monasteries. These were not, as commonly believed, places for prayer and contemplation only, but centres of philanthropy. Is there not reality in that wonderful miracle which is told of a monastery in Egypt, whose three big jars for wheat, oil and wine, although bottomless, were always filled, by the grace of the Lord, for those who were in need? It is well known that all the monasteries in the East always had their doors open to those who were in any need whatever. Of course, in our church there was

a long period of decadence and lack of education, but the church's consciousness of its duties towards religious and social life has never been lost. To-day, at the very moment of regeneration both of the church and theology, the social activities of the church are given first place. In practical life, in spite of limited resources, the church is proceeding very successfully to fulfil its duties towards society and toward the solution of the great social problems in the most Christian way, at this very critical period of Christian history.

Is not the piety of the Orthodox people, either in the outwardly apparent careless indifference of the Greek or in the mystic disposition of the Slav, especially the Russian, a great heritage of which the Orthodox Church can be proud, and which it has inherited from the primitive church and has kept entirely uninterrupted in spite of difficulties and bitter circumstances in its life through the centuries. In the Orthodox Church we do not have that (in one way) wonderful discipline of the Roman Catholic Church through which it holds together so many nations faithful in the union of Catholicism. But have the bounds of Orthodoxy not proved to be much more powerful for their consistency in liberty, freedom and spiritual common sense, through which so many different people belonging to the Orthodox Church are held together? Is not this close bond demonstrated by the fact that every one of these peoples feels the church is its own and is a part of its own nationality, just like the Greeks who are the first children of Orthodoxy?

V.

Lastly, a few words about the relationship between church and state. Jesus and the apostles vigorously condemned worldliness. They denied any worldly character to the church, and neither the primitive nor the undivided church ever recognized within itself any claim to worldly power. The worldly character of the Western Church was always unknown to the Orthodox Church, and in this diversity lies one of the chief elements in the wide separation of the Eastern from the Roman Church, which, in spite of external similarities, cannot be easily over-

come. The church has always gladly promoted and still promotes the improvement of society, employing its best means to that end, but, as a reward, expects nothing from the state but freedom and peace to carry on its spiritual work.

The alliance of church and state as manifested in pre-war Russia was not natural and acceptable to the Orthodox point of view, but was, rather, enforced by the autocratic state. Therefore, those Russian ecclesiastics who are longing for the old *régime*, are, at least in this respect, out of touch with Orthodox reality.

I hope I have shown that the claim of the Orthodox Church that to be in unbroken continuity with the ancient and primitive church is justified and well founded on these phases of church life. This claim does not, in the least, exclude other churches from the right of showing that they also have preserved, to a certain extent, that continuity. Therefore, I maintain that in that common continuity there is a very important ground for meeting and understanding, on which many churches may find themselves ready to join hands. But, in order to find that common ground of continuity, we must make a thorough study. Such a study will show us (1) that there is a quantity of misunderstandings which can be removed through knowledge; (2) that there is a quantity of insignificant differences resulting, quite naturally, from various interesting local and national conditions, the existence of which does not hinder union at all, and (3) that there are real differences which must be the subject of earnest study and prayers. If, through these two infallible means and through God's guidance, these differences can be removed, the goal will be reached. Since misunderstandings and insignificant differences are easier to overcome, let us begin with them in order, first, to determine exactly our similarities, and then, later, make a serious effort to put aside divergencies.

If this noble task, which every really Christian church must have in mind, is initiated by our two churches, the Anglican and the Orthodox, then the joy and the glory will be ours.

H. S. ALIVISATOS.

ART. VI.—THE MISHNAH.

THE word "Mishnah" is derived from the Hebrew root *shanah*, which, in the Old Testament, means "to repeat"; in I Kings xviii, 34, e.g. the prophet Elijah, having bidden his followers to fill four barrels of water, and pour it on the burnt offering, says: "Do it a second time," i.e. repeat it; and it is used in this sense quite a number of times. But in post-Biblical Hebrew the word came to have the meaning of "to teach" or "to learn," because it is only by repetition that one can learn. The repeating, however, refers to what is spoken, i.e. the repetition by word of mouth of what has been handed down, in other words *oral tradition*. So that "Mishnah" means teaching or instruction of what has been repeated from generation to generation. It has also the further meaning of the *substance* of this instruction, and thus connotes the traditional doctrine which has been handed down. This "handing down" is nowhere more clearly expressed than in the opening words of the Mishnah tractate *Aboth*, or *Pirke Aboth* ("Sections, or Sayings of the Fathers"): "Moses received Torah ["Law," but without the article] on Sinai, and handed it down to Joshua; and Joshua (handed it down) to the elders; and the elders to the prophets; and the prophets handed it down to the men of the great assembly." It is implied that in each case this Torah, which without the article means the entire body of divine laws written and uttered, was handed down by word of mouth. The Great Assembly has always been understood by orthodox Judaism to be the Great Synagogue supposed to have been founded by Ezra; but it is more than doubtful whether such an institution, at any rate in the traditional sense, ever existed. This is the earliest mention of it; neither Philo, nor even Josephus, ever alludes to it. In all probability, the account contained in Neh. viii-x of the gathering together of all the people to hear the Law expounded is to be regarded as the historical basis utilized for constructing in later days what can only be called the myth of the Great Synagogue.

But the main point at present is that the Mishnah represents an *oral* tradition, transmitted for centuries by word of mouth, until finally it was redacted in a fixed written form. This was done by Rabbi Judah i about 190 A.D. or 200, and it was simultaneously adopted by the Jews of Palestine as well as by those of Babylonia, where various flourishing centres of Jewish life had long existed. It is a curious fact that although the Mishnah was extant in written form about 200 A.D. there was a third-century prohibition forbidding the committal of the teaching of tradition to writing, or the use of any written form of such by the teachers in giving their lectures.¹ Indeed, in much later times, when written copies of the Talmud, i.e. the amplified form of the Mishnah, were procurable, it was not considered the proper thing for teachers to rely on these when teaching; the traditional oral method was still *de rigueur*. Thus, in a reply addressed to the scholars of Kairwan, thirty miles inland from Susa, Sherira Gaon (900-1000 A.D.) alludes to the prohibition mentioned above in the following words: "In answer to your question asking when the Mishnah and Talmud were, respectively, committed to writing, it should be said that neither of them was thus transmitted, but both were arranged, i.e. redacted, orally; and the scholars believe it to be their duty to recite them from memory, and not from written copies."² It is clear from Sherira's words that even in the tenth century the scholars of the Jewish Babylonian Academies abstained from using written copies of the Talmud in their lectures; they were, it would seem, sufficiently familiar with its text to be able to recite this from memory. On the other hand, Sherira's words certainly imply that written copies were in existence. Such manuscripts, though their public and official use was interdicted, were doubtless employed for purposes of private study.

While the Mishnah must always be connected with the name of Rabbi Judah (ha-Nasi, "the Prince," as he is called), it will be remembered that he must not be regarded as its author. It is, on the contrary, "a collection which includes almost the entire material of the oral doctrine as developed from

¹ This occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, *Gittin* 60a, *Temura* 14b.

² *Jewish Encycl.* xii. 19b.

the period of the earliest halakic ('legal') exegesis down to that of the fixed and crystallized halakoth ('legal directions') of the early third century. Judah ha-Nasi, who was the redactor of this work, included in his compilation the largest and more important portion of the earlier collections that he had at hand, and fortunately preserved, for the most part without change, the traditional teachings which he took from older sources and collections; so that it is still possible to distinguish the earlier from the later portions by their form and mode of expression."³ This is of particular importance because there have thus been preserved for us ideas, and regulations based on them, dating from a long preceding period; how far back this goes it would be difficult to say; but when it is remembered that soon after the Exile, possibly during the Exile itself, began that development of the ritual and legal form of Judaism which we see in process of growth in what we know as the Priestly Code, and which we see stereotyped in the Mishnah, it is clear that Rabbi Judah had collected material which belonged to the formative elements of Judaism as we now understand it. Of the importance of a knowledge of this for New Testament study we shall have something to say later.

In the Mishnah, then, we have gathered together the accumulated rules, dicta, opinions, etc., which had been in process of formulation during at least six centuries; and these dealt with almost every conceivable circumstance of life. Moreover, in the course of the centuries, changing conditions arose for the Jews; the Persian, Greek, and Roman periods each involved new problems in the matter of legal observances, which laid upon the religious authorities increased and varying responsibilities for guiding the people in the right way. Cases hitherto unprovided for demanded new legal decisions; extenuating circumstances required the modification of existing demands; unforeseen occasions for rulings raised perplexing questions; the ingenuity of the Scribes must often have been severely taxed, especially as differences of opinion on the part of these authorities showed that problems could be envisaged from varying points of view. And what immensely complicated the whole matter was the question of the interpretation of Scripture. Every legal decision, it was claimed, was based

³ *Jewish Encycl.* viii. 670a.

upon the written word of the Bible or on what could be deduced from it; for it was firmly held that there was nothing in the oral law which could not be deduced from what was written in the Scriptures; between the written law and the oral law there could be no contradiction. Scriptural exegesis came in here; and everyone knows how variable are the interpretations which can be gleaned from Biblical texts. It must often have been a very debateable question as to whether some particular Rabbinical ruling had the sanction of Scripture; but since it was necessary that every ruling should have this sanction it is not difficult to understand why so frequently very forced interpretations of Scriptural passages appear in the Mishnah. As a matter of fact, there was by no means always unanimity upon these interpretations, hence the frequent variety of opinions which the Mishnah has preserved.

It will thus be realized that the oral tradition as we have it in the Mishnah presents us with a somewhat confused conglomerate.

Nevertheless, the Mishnah has, for a variety of reasons, a great value; and this accounts for the editions of it which have been given to the world in recent years. We shall draw attention briefly to three of these.

The first is a Jewish edition of the Mishnah which was begun as long ago as 1887, and only completed in 1933. It was first undertaken by the Rabbinical scholar, Dr. A. Sammt, and since then a number of other able authorities have continued the work; it has the general title of *Mishnaïoth* (the plural form of Mishnah): *the Six Orders of the Mishnah*. This work contains the Hebrew pointed text, together with a German translation, and there are full explanatory notes; each of the tractates has a short introduction explaining its contents, and a list of the names of the teachers, with their dates, whose sayings, rulings, etc., appear in the respective tractates. The work is of great value, since all those who have taken part in it are expert Talmudists; it presents, of course, the specifically Jewish point of view on the innumerable topics dealt with; and this is very welcome; for however much non-Jewish scholars, approaching the whole subject with a wider and less biassed attitude, may differ from their Jewish *confrères*, it is very essential to have the traditional Jewish point of view presented;

and he would be a bold man who would maintain that modern ideas on the various subjects dealt with are necessarily more reliable than the more ancient ones. The notes on the text in these volumes are very informing, and, as a rule, make the many difficulties and obscurities of the original clear. Bulky as this work is, of considerably larger dimensions is that, still in process of publication, being issued under the joint-editorship of Beer, O. Holtzmann, and Krauss: *Die Mischna: Text, Uebersetzung und ausführliche Erklärung*. Of this it is difficult to speak too highly. Most of the contributors—and they number some twenty, so far—are non-Jews, but both they and the Jewish contributors are scholars of the highest standing; and the work stands out as the best of its kind. Here, too, we have the Hebrew text, but in this case it is a more critically constructed one, all available MSS. having been taken into consideration. There is also a German translation; the explanatory notes are very full; and the type is everything that could be desired. Each tractate is furnished with an introduction giving a lucid account of the contents and purpose of the tractate. Of the two works mentioned, this latter is undoubtedly the more valuable; but the former is also much to be recommended for the reason given above; in any case, both are indispensable to the student of the Mishnah. For English readers who know neither German nor Hebrew these two works are, of course, no use—apart from their very high cost—so that we turn with particular pleasure to a third recent work; this time in English, by an English scholar second to none in his own department, and published by the English Press which stands at the head of all publishers, whether in England or anywhere else in the world. To this work we propose to devote more detailed attention: *The Mishnah: translated from the Hebrew, with Introduction and brief explanatory notes*, by Herbert Danby, D.D., Residentiary Canon of St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem (Clarendon Press). For anyone to translate the sixty-three tractates of the Mishnah is an achievement to be proud of; the nearly nine hundred pages of print—the notes do not take up much space—witness to the prodigious piece of work Canon Danby has given us. But it is not by any means only the quantity of the work done that merits grateful recognition, the quality of it is that on which Dr. Danby is to be especially congratulated.

Every reader of the Mishnah knows the difficulty that often arises of giving a faithful rendering of the original in good English; there are numberless cases in which the sense of the original can only be conveyed by a paraphrase in English; but how often it may happen that a paraphrase gives a wrong impression. Now what has particularly struck us in reading various passages of Dr. Danby's translation is not only that the language is clear and succinct, but that it gives the absolute sense of the original. We are convinced that his renderings can always be relied upon.

There is also another important point that must be mentioned here; as compared with the two other works of which mention has been made the notes in Dr. Danby's edition are scanty; but this is often made up for from the fact that his translation partakes of the nature of a commentary. There is so much that can be said by way of commentary when dealing with a Mishnah tractate that the difficulty is to know where to draw the line; the wonder is that in a volume of this size space has been found for any notes at all; where they do occur they are very much to the point, and Dr. Danby's sense of proportion is to be highly commended.

In addition to the translation and notes this volume contains some other valuable material. First, there is the Introduction; although this covers less than twenty pages it contains a wonderful amount of information; and anyone who reads it will get a real insight into the nature and contents of the Mishnah; here is a sample: "The Mishnah in its six main divisions covers the whole range of Pentateuchal legislation; (i) laws dealing with agricultural produce, and the portions of the harvest which fall to the priests and levites, and to the poor; (ii) the set feasts; (iii) laws affecting womankind; (iv) property rights and legal proceedings; (v) the holy things of the Temple; and (vi) the laws of uncleanness. The letter of the Written Law is throughout assumed, attention being given almost exclusively to rules of Jewish usage which sometimes prove to be no more than logical restatement or extension or practical application of the Written Law, while sometimes they seem to be independent of it. It is these rules of usage, 'the traditions of the elders,' which form the essential and characteristic

element in the Mishnah." That, in effect, gives one in a nutshell the essence of what the Mishnah contains.

In his laudable desire to be scrupulously fair Dr. Danby says nothing that is detrimental to the contents of the Mishnah; but there is no getting away from the fact that it contains a large modicum of rubbish, sometimes rather revolting material, at any rate to modern ideas; what in his charitableness he does say is simply this: "Approximately the half of the Mishnah has no longer any practical bearing on the present religious practice of Judaism, nor had it any practical bearing even when it was compiled. This, however, has never detracted from its worth in Jewish eyes; this unattainable half of Judaism has been as much the object of diligent and devotional study in exile as the dietary laws or the observance of the Sabbath and the Festivals." Here, reading between the lines—we hope we are not wronging him—we seem to discern something in Dr. Danby's thought which would allow that there is much in the Mishnah which does not appeal to present-day thought or taste. But this must not blind us to the value and importance of the Mishnah in many directions. The Introduction contains, further, a most informing section on the origin and development of the Mishnah; some reference to this subject has already been made above; in confirmation of what was said, however, some words of Canon Danby are worth quoting: "When we attempt to trace the growth, namely the conscious and deliberate amassing of this body of oral tradition, sanctified usage and precedent, we are in the region of guesswork. Since written laws cannot anticipate all possible contingencies, or embrace every detail, or deal in advance with each possible case, it can be assumed that, in applying the Mosaic Code to daily life and to the Temple worship, to domestic relations and trade and to the administration of justice, a multitude of usages arising out of practical necessity or convenience or experience became part of the routine of observance of the code, and, in course of time, shared the sanctity and authority which were inherent in the divinely inspired code itself . . ." That accounts for the fact that the Oral Law came to assume an authority equal to that of the Written Law; in fact, since the tradition of the elders, i.e. the Oral Law, besides claiming an authority and continuity equal to that of

the Written Law, and of being "its authentic and living interpretation and its essential complement," it followed that the former was looked upon as more important than the latter. One sees from this the significance of the reply to the question of the Pharisees: "Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? For they wash not their hands when they eat bread. And he answered and said unto them, Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition? . . ." (Matth. xv, 1-9).

Other sections in the Introduction deal with the arrangement, method, and language of the Mishnah, the history of its interpretation—a very important section—and its text and traditions. As we have said, Dr. Danby offers here in a small compass a general account of the Mishnah in respect of everything that is really essential; it is the kind of thing that could be done only by one who was thoroughly master of his subject.

A word must be said about the Appendixes. These are four in number, including a glossary of untranslated Hebrew words occurring in the tractates, tables of money, weights, and measures, the names of the Rabbinical teachers quoted or referred to in the text of Mishnah, together with their approximate dates, and an enumeration of the rules of uncleanness; the first three, at any rate, of these are very useful.

Special praise must be accorded to the admirable General Index; this must have entailed an immense amount of labour, for besides being an Index it partakes of the nature of a concordance; of its great usefulness to scholars as well as students there can be no doubt.

Enough has been said to show that Dr. Danby has given to the world a great piece of work for which, at any rate, the English-speaking peoples must be profoundly grateful; it is not the kind of book that will get out of date in course of years; its usefulness is permanent; and we feel sure that it will help many to realize the importance that some knowledge of the Mishnah has for the understanding of the New Testament. That is a subject upon which we should like to have said more; but space does not permit of that.

The Clarendon Press must be warmly congratulated on the production of Dr. Danby's work; although about 900 pages the volume is not bulky; that it is beautifully printed goes without saying, and small as the type of the notes is, it is easy to read. What is truly astonishing is that such a large volume, so well produced, can be had for twenty shillings; for what it is, this is the cheapest book we have ever come across.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

REVIEWS.

The Balfour Lectures on Realism. By A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author, by G. F. BARBOUR. (Blackwood. Edinburgh. 1933). 7s. 6d.

It is no disparagement to the Lectures which form the concluding section of this book to say that its chief interest lies in the memoir of their author which Dr. Barbour has written with the help of many of Pringle-Pattison's surviving friends. His life was almost entirely devoid of external incident, but it is nevertheless a fascinating story to those who care to follow the development of a distinguished mind. Andrew Seth, to give him his original name, came of old Scottish country stock, though he was born in Edinburgh, and his character was moulded by the vigorous intellectual and religious life which flourished in the Scottish middle classes of the nineteenth century. He seems to have been born with a philosophical bent and the history of his mental progress towards a world-view begins in his school days. We are told that the humility and complete absence of intellectual arrogance which were so attractive a feature of his mature years were always remarkable in his character. There is a welcome tribute in the Memoir to Campbell Fraser who was the "master-influence" of his years in Edinburgh University. His years in Germany were of great importance to the young philosopher and we are given some extracts from his correspondence during this period which throw light not only on his own thought but on the conditions of German university life. The following comment on Treitschke is worth quoting:—"Treitschke's standing motto against the possibility of Socialism is, *Keine Kultur ohne Dienstboten*—i.e., we must have a lower class to perform the menial services of life. This is not very convincing, for there is no degradation in the services themselves; and, as someone remarked to me: Why not reverse the motto and say, *Keine Dienstboten ohne Kultur*?" It is not perhaps generally known that Seth was for a time leader writer in the *Scotsman* and "took full advantage of the then attitude of the *Scotsman* to

pillory the 'unco guid,' the ultra-orthodox and the extreme wing of Sabbatarians." The later years of Seth's life, when he had changed his name to Pringle-Pattison, are chiefly a record of academic work and books published. The memoir is valuable for the letters which it includes from distinguished thinkers, among them Lord Balfour, Bosanquet and F. H. Bradley. The letters from the last two on the question of personal immortality are of great interest. The former reiterates his views which he had expounded in *Value and Destiny*; Bradley, however, seems to have moved nearer to a belief in personal immortality. He writes: "I certainly would not say now that 'a future life must be taken as decidedly improbable.'"

Professor H. F. Hallett records his impression of Pringle-Pattison's teaching in some well weighed words. "He possessed in the highest degree the power of going straight to the heart of an abstruse problem. There was never a clearer-headed university professor, yet his ability was not overwhelming to his students. The slight hesitancy of his manner, the complete absence of the learned volubility which often conceals 'learned ignorance,' put the young student at ease with his subject, if not altogether at ease with his professor." The doctrine of the *Lectures on Realism* is the same as that which may be read in the *Idea of God*. It must suffice here to say that they exemplify, in so far as written words can, the gifts of the teacher which Professor Hallett so well describes. All who admired Pringle-Pattison, and their number is large, must be grateful to Dr. Barbour for this book which he has compiled with tact and piety.

W. R. MATTHEWS.

Essentials in the Development of Religion. By J. E. TURNER, M.A., PH.D., Reader in Philosophy in the University of Liverpool. (George Allen and Unwin). 12s. 6d.

THIS book calls for a certain amount of effort in the reading of it, more so than did its predecessors. The style of the first few chapters is not so easy. Quite definitely, however, the effort is worth making, for, just as the earlier works were satisfying, so is this. There is much evidence of profound thought and, what is more, of *reverent* thought, humbly seeking

to find the only truly satisfying thing—truth. The reader is left with the feeling that here is a writer conscious of the responsibility he incurs, setting out to discuss the way of religion's development and showing that he is quite alive to the sacred character of his work. For, after all, whatever be our religious views it is obvious that such a work as this must enter into the holy places of human life. Would it be out of place if we thanked Professor Turner for that he reverently removes his shoes as he approaches his work?

Dr. Turner is a Christian philosopher, but he does not make his ideas fit his faith. Just as in *The Nature of Deity* and *The Revelation of Deity*, we are carried along by the reasoning of the chapters and then suddenly we seem to find the goal in the Christian revelation. This is not explicitly put forward. The reader is just left to think things out.

By the word *religion* Dr. Turner implies all the various responses of the mind in its totality to the universe. As such it is inherent in man and develops naturally as the response is progressive. This development cannot be explained by the influence of instinct alone, for it is perfectly clear that development has been marked by the regulation of instinct, and all higher stages of religion owe their essential features to something quite other than instinct, in fact to rationality. Progress has come as the release from the domination of instinct. The purpose of the universe seems to lie in the production of "the self." Selfhood is the climax of the evolutionary process, personality is the key of the universe. From this point we are led through the problems of good and evil to immortality and the friendly attitude of the universe to which we must respond.

But the other side of this book, to which I have referred, is the startling way in which Dr. Turner's arguments seem to be clinched in the faith of the New Testament. For instance, on pp. 56/57 we are shewn that the word "religion" can only be applied to the attitude of "the whole man" to life; to be called religion the response must be complete; the influence of the universe, at first external, must become operative personally. Religion at first second hand must become first hand. "Then shall I know," says St. Paul, and also we may compare the many instances of Jesus teaching the intimate personal relationship between God and man.

Again, on page 136, "in principle thought comprehends the real nature of the universe; and this . . . because the universe itself manifests or expresses its own character in human thought." The words of St. Francis de Sales, "you can only behold that which you are," seem to be repeated here. Also, "in the image of God made he him."

On p. 174, "evil is real . . . because it is essentially active and dynamic. It is resistance to, or conflict with, the evolution of the universe." cf. "Sin is lawlessness."

"As far as the self is concerned it is deliberate resistance . . . ; it is, in other words, once again a matter of the will." cf. "Out of the heart proceed . . ."

In the chapter on immortality we are again shewn that deliberate hostility to the universe is moral evil and may result in self-stultification, while "on the other hand its furtherance is in itself the higher development of the good personality; so that what appears at first sight to be self-sacrifice is, more truly understood, the very making of the better self." cf. "Whoso loseth his life for my sake shall gain it."

And so on. Everyone really interested in the trend of modern philosophy should read this book; it is worth a wise man's consideration.

E. C. PRICHARD.

Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages. By A. J. MACDONALD. (Oxford University Press. 1933).

IN the Hulsean Lectures for 1931-1932, which are here printed, Dr. Macdonald breaks a ground that has hitherto been almost neglected by English scholars and theologians. His aim is to describe and discuss the outburst of philosophical inquiry which ensued in European thought at the beginning of the ninth century, and which over and above the traditional theology of the time was a peculiar feature of the earlier Middle Ages up to the twelfth century. In doing this the author has been the first to see the intellectual activity of the period in its true light, namely as a movement in theology which ran contrary to what appears to-day to be the received opinion on the character of medieval theological teaching. Professor Grabmann in his valuable *History of the Scholastic Method* expressed this

opinion in the words that "receptivity and traditionalism were the mark of ninth-century theology in the continental schools." Dr. Macdonald here shows us the other side of the picture: side by side with theological traditionalism we find in the ninth and following centuries a remarkable strain of philosophical originality, and to ascertain the origins and inter-relations of these two strains is what Dr. Macdonald has set out to do.

Though the word "authority" is used in these lectures in a threefold sense so as to include the theory of the supreme authority of the Bible in matters of faith (lecture 6, part b), and also the papal claims for supremacy in all questions concerning the ecclesiastical hierarchy and dogma (lecture 7, part a), Dr. Macdonald nevertheless deals mainly with the application of the word to exegesis and philosophy. In fact, the belief in the absolute truth of the Bible, which had been held since the days of the earliest Fathers, was the foundation without which speculations as to the nature of interpretation would have been groundless; moreover, a definite and conservative theory of interpretation would naturally pave the way for such claims of the Pope in his role of *arbiter ecclesiae* as are exemplified in Gregory VII. So there remains the problem whether the Bible should be interpreted by close adherence to the patristic writings and the conciliar findings, in short to the ever-growing body of authority; or whether the expositor should only be guided by his own rational thought. To put it in more general terms: Should truth both religious and philosophical (both were the same thing to the early medieval thinker as well as to some modern theologians, with whom Dr. Macdonald seems to identify himself) as laid down in the Bible be investigated by the rigid standard of doctrinal tradition, or by means of human reason moving within its autonomous circle?

The various stages which the treatment of this problem went through are clearly set forth by Dr. Macdonald in a series of historical sketches. We are shown (lectures 4, 5, 6, part a) how a tendency towards simplification of exegesis by following the patristic models even in the time of the last Fathers (Cassiodorus, Isidore, Gregory the Great) resulted in the rule enunciated by such Caroling scholars as Alcuin, Fredegis of Tours, Prudentius of Troyes and others, that in expounding the Scriptures nothing was to be set forth that was not contained

in the patristic writings. So, in the ninth century, Dr. Macdonald says,

not only was the principle of authority developed, but the materials for the development of the parallel notion of tradition were being increased. Medieval orthodoxy was being shaped, in the very age when rational inquiry and method had come to life again.

Once this principle had been pronounced and widely adopted, it was retained and defended against detractors throughout the period under consideration. Anselm of Canterbury's philosophical works with their undercurrent idea of the Bible and the Fathers as sole judges of the truth of an argument, no less than Lanfranc's violent quarrel with Berengar, prove the sway which this principle had over the best minds of the time.

In spite of this fact we find a revival of logic, dialectics, or philosophy, in the very centuries when authority and tradition in theological matters seemed to frustrate philosophy in its essence. Dr. Macdonald nowhere explicitly accounts for this seeming paradox; but the explanation is implied in these lectures. To the Fathers, we learn in lecture 1, the way to truth lay through the Bible, and through philosophy and the sciences as keys to the Bible; philosophy and science together with the Bible were the means of reaching truth. This patristic epistemology may be seen in its purest form in St. Augustine. It had to be abandoned, however, when in the beginning of the ninth century the treasure of the Scriptures was no longer to be unlocked by the reasoning power of the human mind, but by ready-made writings, the ancient patristic commentaries. Thus in the Caroling schools of Tours, Fulda, Auxerre, Troyes and others, philosophy could no longer be a subsidiary subject as it had been with the Fathers, it had to become independent if it was to be practised at all. In this way it happened that the reception of the patristic commentaries carried with it the revival of the patristic practice of philosophy, only with the one important difference that now philosophy was free to develop on its own lines. The discussion in Dr. Macdonald's book of how either of the two sources of knowledge, the Bible as expounded by the Fathers, and philosophy, were valued by various scholars and at various times, makes most interesting reading. We learn that

throughout the Caroling period the relation between reason and authority remained undefined . . . So Alcuin, and the teachers who followed him, were free to make use of dialectics without being unduly challenged by ecclesiastical traditionalists.

Others, such as Fredegis of Tours, though advocating the free use of reason, gave the Bible the highest place in dialectics, thus in the last resort adhering to tradition. In the controversies round Gottschalk and Berengar we have the open clash of the two principles, whereas John the Scot, by reviving Platonic and Augustinian ideas, and Anselm of Canterbury, through being profoundly inspired by patristic thought, united them into systems which even to-day command the admiration of philosophers and theologians alike. Some writers, like Peter Damiani in the eleventh century, ended up in resignation, being unable to bridge over the gulf between one truth contained in the authoritative writings, and another arrived at by reason. Finally, scholasticism

employed the dialectical method to explain and supplement the statements of authority, while no challenge to the authority of Scripture, still less to its content, revelation, was developed.

This scholastic solution of the problem was of course only a compromise; but it was the only medieval solution that rested on the supposition that religious and philosophical truth were one and the same thing, or, that truth could only be religious. In this respect it was the only solution that realised the medieval ambition and which concluded a period of 400 years full of tentative and often vague endeavours to make two such diverging concepts as religion and philosophy fall under the one category of search after truth.

One noteworthy result emerging from these lectures is that the freedom of reasoning in theology, which in the last century was acclaimed as being a primary achievement of the Reformation, is shown by Dr. Macdonald to have existed even in the Middle Ages. His book has the merit of clearly demonstrating that the ancestry of the Reformation must not be sought in primitive Christianity only, but largely also in the intervening period of pre-scholasticism and, for that matter, of scholasticism altogether. In showing this the author has made a first attempt

towards filling a gap in the history of English theology which so far has been left neglected by the greater part of English theologians. It is this neglect that is to blame for so many faulty representations and appreciations of Reformation theology, a neglect which on the Continent was remedied long ago by the studies of such scholars as H. Denifle and others.

Dr. Macdonald's book, therefore, stands in a line with those of Professor Maitland, Dr. Z. N. Brooke and others, in going back to the Middle Ages, whose importance for the understanding of the English mind and culture no intentional or unintentional silence can obliterate.

H. H. GLUNZ.

Bishops and Reform, 1215-72: with special reference to the Lateran Council of 1215. By MARION GIBBS and JANE LANG. (Oxford University Press. Milford). 12s. 6d.

THE importance of the long reign of Henry III, stretching over one half of the thirteenth century, itself the culmination of the middle age, in the ecclesiastical history of England has long been recognised, but attention has been concentrated hitherto to a large extent upon such leading figures of the episcopate as Stephen Langton and Robert Grosseteste, or upon the movement of the Friars and their relation to the universities; so that the generality of English bishops have remained little more than names, some familiar from the pages of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, others known to students of administrative history because of their service in the royal household, but many still eluding classification. The primary virtue therefore of this volume of studies in the question of *Bishops and Reform* lies in its careful exploration of the personnel of the contemporary episcopate, and the investigation of the circumstances of their election. The book embraces two distinct studies: that of Miss Gibbs concerning the methods of election in England and the character of the resultant episcopate, and that of Miss Lang in relation to the influence of the decrees of the Lateran Council of 1215 upon the English Church; but the community of interest makes them easy bedfellows within the same covers. The interest of the two theses may vary according to the predilections of individual readers, but both are of great

value by reason of their thorough documentation and dependence upon first-hand contemporary sources, episcopal and papal.

The first, and not least interesting, conclusion emerging from the detailed study of the personnel of the episcopate is the decline of the monastic element both in numbers and importance during the thirteenth century. No more than eight monks actually attained to the episcopate, though many others were elected by monastic chapters only to suffer rejection at the hands of king or pope. The latter circumstance itself emphasised the change of tradition, since both sovereign and pontiffs regarded the *simplices claustrales* as unsuitable for the episcopal office; being unlikely from their antecedent experience to fulfil the condition required of prelates that they should be *regno utiles necnon ad auxilium et consilium efficaces*. More important than the dwindling religious element was the group of administrators and magnates, estimated by the author at 42 out of a gross total of 78 episcopal promotions, and embracing 22 *curiales*, clerks whose apprenticeship to high ecclesiastical office had been served in the departments of the state and the royal household. The real importance of this section of the episcopate is emphasised further by Miss Lang in her study of the enforcement of the Lateran decrees in England, since prelates whose rise to eminence had been by the avenue of secular offices were inevitably reluctant to carry out Innocent III's attempted prohibition of clerks from undertaking offices in the state or the household; and consequently this veto remained in England more honoured in the breach than the observance. This fact assumes still greater interest and significance at the particular period of the mid-thirteenth century; for, despite an unusual combination of conditions favourable to its reversal arising on the one hand from the dominating personality and reforming zeal of Innocent III and on the other hand from John's promise of freedom of capitular elections in England, the tradition of the close commerce of the English prelacy in affairs of state continued and prevailed against all demands for reform. That it should have triumphed is no small tribute to its native strength, and to the historic roots of the English alliance of church and state. To the reforming papacy the curial bishop was evidently but an unprofitable servant; for, as Miss Gibbs observes, "the administrative departments as

such offered no specific experience which would give insight into the needs of the church: the contrast between *curiales* and episcopate is fundamental." Thus it happened that one of the reasons advanced by the papacy for its rejection of Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester and chancellor, when presented as archbishop-elect of Canterbury was that he was *curialis*. Yet to the curial bishops the church owed the introduction of useful agents of administration; for it would appear that they "initiated the episcopal registers."

To supply the defects of experience and character noted in the *curiales*, the episcopate was liberally furnished with scholar-prelates; not only in the persons of such outstanding individuals as Langton and Grosseteste, but including such figures of importance as Richard le Poore, Richard Wych (the canonised bishop of Chichester), Alexander Stavensby, and two primates, Richard le Grant and Edmund of Abingdon. From such bishops both learning and zeal for reform might be anticipated, since they brought to the office and work of a bishop a knowledge of theology and of the canon law and a desire to make effective their rule through the issue of synodal constitutions and articles of visitation. Closely connected with the desire for ecclesiastical reform stood the perennial problem of episcopal elections; a problem brought forward especially by the promise of King John in 1214 to allow freedom of capitular elections and by the Lateran decrees of 1215 concerning the proper conduct of elections. In tracing the influence of these two factors upon elections in England, Miss Gibbs notes "the comparative impotence of the metropolitan," the considerable increase of papal influence (seen especially in the direct appointment of six prelates by apostolic authority without preliminary election by the chapter in England, two of which cases related to the see of Canterbury), and the continued assertion of royal authority though Henry III was occasionally overruled by the strong pontiffs with whom he had to deal. Particular significance attaches in these circumstances to the fact that out of 76 successful episcopal elections, only 15 can be accounted "not only formally canonical but actually free." Of the elections quashed by the papacy the most important (excepting perhaps those relating to Canterbury itself) was that of Rochester in 1235, for the papal decision established finally

the emancipation of that see from the claims of the archbishop of Canterbury to appoint its bishop and to regard his status as *tanquam proprius capellanus*. From the careful survey of Miss Gibbs it is evident that even during the half century following John's surrender and the Lateran Council of 1215 freedom of capitular elections was little more than a pious fiction, concealing the intervention of some exterior authority in four-fifths of the instances examined. Her detailed and thorough conspectus is invaluable for the study of Henry III's episcopate alike in regard to its personnel and method of appointment.

In passing to the essay of Miss Lang the stage widens perceptibly; for the domestic affairs of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* are related to the European episode of the Lateran Council of 1215, the culmination of Innocent III's pontificate and the agent of a comprehensive programme of ecclesiastical reform. Notwithstanding the fame of this council, and the authority of its decrees, Miss Lang emphasises the fact "that the bishops and abbots who were present at the council were the sole agents for the introduction of its decrees into England," so that the propagation of their contents and the responsibility for their enforcement would depend upon the enthusiasm of the English episcopate for reform. In relation to one of the most important, the canon requiring the assembly by the metropolitans of an annual provincial synod, the English Church failed to fulfil the conciliar requirement; and omitted thereby to organise the chief intended agent of reform. Likewise, as has been already indicated, freedom of capitular elections was not assured. In point of fact the episcopate did not endeavour seriously to carry out the decrees which affected adversely their own situation in relation to the sovereign and to affairs of state. Instead they contented themselves with the evidences of zeal to check clerical marriage and concubinage, to reform monastic houses and orders, to improve the learning and pastoral standards of the secular clergy, and to restrict pensions and pluralities. Even in these activities they attained only a partial measure of success; so that despite the higher standard of episcopal administration, and the presence of so many scholars in the episcopate, the authors' conclusion upon the church of Henry III's reign is that it was falling steadily into greater secularisa-

tion. This verdict on the thirteenth century English Church is perhaps unusual and surprising; but it is none the less significant; and there is a lesson of importance to be learned from "the paradox of the greater activity of the bishops in the administration of their dioceses side by side with the general increase in a spirit of materialism and secularism in the church."

N. SYKES.

Tales of My Native Village. By SIR G. R. SITWELL. (Oxford University Press). 12s. 6d. Special parchment edition, 16s.

WE are full of admiration for Sir George Sitwell's book, which consists of studies of mediæval life, manners, art, minstrelsy, and religion in the form of short stories. He places the scene of these stories in his old home in Derbyshire, where for more than seventy years he has been lord of the manor, though he ventures forth to foreign shores to compare and to contrast what used to happen among his own dales. As we all know, there are certain mediævalists who seem to delight in darkening the shadows of the past, and it is one of the motives of the author in writing this book that he wants to redress the bias and balance of these writers. Accordingly he writes his singularly attractive book, the value of which is enhanced by the illustrations which belong to the years 1333-44, and are taken from Douce MS. 264 in the Bodleian Library and from the Luttrell Psalter. "That it dwells upon the beauty and wisdom, rather than upon the follies, superstitions and cruelties of the Gothic world, that following a well-known precedent it represents the knight, the rector, the free-tenants, the minstrels, the pilgrim, and the serf, as favourable rather than as average specimens of their class, I do not deny; so many recent writers, misled by the rhetorical exaggerations of the old sermons and satires, have busied themselves in exposing the weaknesses of our ancestors, that a little weight needs to be thrown into the other scale if Truth is to hold her balance even." When one class of mediævalists lean heavily in one direction, there is the obvious temptation for another class to lean no less heavily in the opposite direction. Fortunately for the redress of the balance, though Sir George Sitwell leans in one direction, his

leaning is not pressed too far, and the judicious reader is accordingly impressed by this book. The stories begin with the introduction of Chaucer's England, and then they proceed to tell the tale of the lord of the manor, the feast, the pilgrim, the flight of the rector, the manor court, and the serf. Frankly, we envy the writer the insight with which he writes, and feel considerable confidence in deliberately stating that though he lives in the twentieth century he would be even more at home in the fourteenth. For he seems to be able to creep inside the skin of the folk of those far-off days, to see through their eyes, to feel the beating of their hearts, and even to think their thoughts. For our own part we forgot, as we were reading this book, that we were living in 1934, for under the magic of the author's pen we realised that the clock had been set back and we were living in the years 1333-4. These are significant years, for they are before the Black Death of 1348-49, the grievous winter when more than half the populations of Asia and Europe died, and the Middle Ages came to an end.

The temptation is to go through this book and to present the conclusions which the author reaches, conclusions based on evidence detailed at the end of it. He makes no attempt to deny the inconveniences and the hardships of mediæval life. The roads, for example, were rough, the inns bare, yet he urges that what was lost in comfort, the goddess the twentieth century worships, was gained in beauty, the goddess whose shrine is neglected. No doubt the journeys were not conducted with the swiftness of the motor, a swiftness that insists on over seven thousand victims a year, but at the same time the pageant of human life, the panorama of the world, unfolded itself as one rode along. The highways were thronged with leisurely wayfarers, and every group was a human picture. Individual life was cold and poor, such is the contention of the author, yet the corporate life of the borough, parish, and manor was incomparably richer than to-day. Had not every guild, craft, fraternity its livery, its badge or jewel of gilded lead or latten, its common hall, convivial meetings, and feast day? Modern comforts and luxuries were naturally not to be found, but did not the simplicity of life render the contrast between riches and poverty less oppressive? In the view of Sir George "Pictures, except of sacred subjects, were unknown, but art was a living force and followed definite lines, which every craftsman

in stone or wood or glass or metal could adapt to his purpose. There was no theatre, except for the Mystery plays, but symbolism and allegory were part of life itself, they entered even into civil actions such as the delivery of seisin, the render of homage, or the admission of copyhold, still more into everything connected with religion, the whole aim and design of the Church ritual being to be dramatic. Books were few, but there was a folk literature of tales, ballads, and songs, a repertory of popular airs which could be heard at weddings, May games, Christmas feasts, village wakes, Whitsun ales, and sheep-shearings. Thus the Gothic world was full of music, and as with the spring voices, beauty touching the heart found an outlet in song. The warriors sing as they ride along the dusty roads, helmet on head with banners flying, the ploughman sings at his plough 'so that the oxen may take their delights in his chants and melodies,' the wayfarer as he trudges along from town to town, the poor spinster at her carding and spinning. 'Merry England' was something more than an empty phrase; in spite of wars, pestilences and famines, of wearying journeys, dark hours, and the long Lenten fast, there was a joy in life which the modern world has thrown away."

R. H. MURRAY.

Christianity and Economics. By A. D. LINDSAY, LL.D., Master of Balliol College, Oxford. (Macmillan and Co. 1933). 5s.

THERE is much need of a philosophy of the relations of Christianity and economics. It is easy to feel the force of the opposing cries "All this is unchristian," or "You cannot alter the laws of political economy," and to get correspondingly angry at the element of untruth that there is in each. It is more profitable amid the uncertainty and hesitations of good men to recognize with Dr. Lindsay that

"we are faced with a genuine problem which we have to think out, not with a mere unwillingness to adopt what we know to be a right solution."

To this philosophical synthesis the Master of Balliol makes a welcome contribution by publishing the five lectures which he delivered originally in 1930 under the auspices of the Henry Scott Holland Memorial Trust. The book is modest in size,

as it breathes the modest spirit of a devout and learned enquirer, but it goes deep and is very stimulating to thought.

He envisages the particular problem by way of a comparison between what has happened in political theory since the break-up of the medieval polity and the corresponding but rather different ideas that have obtained in the same period as to the relation of religion to economics. Why have we still in the latter department a doctrine often advocated not only by selfish but by religious men, that "the writ of religion does not run in the sphere" of economics? The author, of course, repudiates such a doctrine, but does not admit that therefore the only hope is to return to the medieval synthesis, whereby all economic action was to be strictly controlled by Christian government. He finds, rather, much truth in the alternative doctrine that "the medieval synthesis allowed too little independence to the economic [as it did to the political] life of man," and thinks that a demand for the *relative* independence of economics from religion is justified by the facts of the situation and may mean a change for the better. For one thing, there was the inherent weakness of the religious restraint on economics exercised in the Middle Ages, that (to quote here Mr. Tawney) "the social teaching of the church had ceased to count, because the church itself had ceased to think"—to which Dr. Lindsay adds the further drawback to effectiveness in the fact

"that one set of men, the clergy, were laying down laws for another set of men, instead of teaching these men to lay down laws for themselves."

But why has the reaction run to such extremes in this sphere, whereas in the parallel history of *politics* since the Renaissance there has been such a recovery of ethical and religious restraint in another form, that no one would venture to say now "Politics is politics" with the same confident implication that religion must hold off from it, as is supposed to be involved in the maxim "Business is business"? An interesting survey follows of what has happened in political theory after its emancipation from authoritarian religious control. Not Macchiavelli nor Hobbes prevailed for long in working out a modern theory of the state on the lines of sheer expediency: the characteristic inspiration came rather from Rousseau who imported into political action a morality based on "natural rights." Henceforward the

power of the state is limited by having to take account of men's moral purposes as well as of their material interests. And it is a patent fact that the extreme separation of religion from politics has never gained hold of those who have succumbed entirely to the doctrine of the inapplicability of religion to economics.

It is in this historical comparison that Dr. Lindsay sees hope for a recovery of religious guidance and stimulus in economic action without a return to an authoritarian control such as obtained in the Middle Ages. As in political theory the state can only be explained by recognizing the reality of men's moral purposes, so economic theory must allow for the reality and validity of men's spiritual and altruistic instincts and not exclude them. That this recovery has been delayed is due (he points out) to the peculiar nature of economic relations—the system of exchange—which makes it hard for the individual to recognize moral responsibility for the purposes which someone else gets him to serve. And there is much to be said, of course, for regarding economic relations, so far as they are instrumental for achieving ends in the best possible way, as non-moral.

“The puzzle comes in determining the conditions within which, or alongside of which, the indifference of economic relations can be not only admitted but welcomed. For it seems equally clear that we stand to lose something if this indifference is never assumed, and if it is assumed entirely without regard to the care for other than these indifferent economic relations” (p. 45).

The author finds a hint for the solution of the puzzle in Aristotle's dictum that justice depends upon friendship. So long as the introduction of an economic relation does not alter the moral relation between men, the economic relation can be regarded as indifferent: but on the other hand the economic relation may have serious reactions on the moral situation. It is the failure (he thinks) to distinguish between “questions” and “situations” that has led to the exaggerated views on either side of this controversy:

“There are questions which are only economic questions—i.e. concerned with how purposes can be more efficiently served—the moral responsibility for the purposes remaining where it was. Because that is so, we easily conclude that there are human situations with regard to

which moral questions do not arise, and therefore a whole unmoral world where business is business. Or if we begin at the other end and recognize that there are no situations which are morally indifferent, we go on to argue that there are no questions which are economic and morally indifferent questions, and therefore no ways which may be morally indifferent of combining to effect purposes. But this is surely not so" (pp. 47, 8).

It is therefore with the changing moral situations resulting from modern economic development that the church is bound to be concerned, and, while admitting that economic questions must have their own "technique," should stand up for its duty to pronounce upon them and judge them by the test of their bearing upon the general moral situation. This control of economics by an enlightened public conscience instead of by an authoritarian system—this enthroning of the philosopher *beside* the king (as the Master of Balliol puts it with the allusion to Plato), instead of installing the philosopher-king—has its weakness, for often the looser control implied "may easily redound to the advantage, not of personal liberty, but of economic power." But it has the highest possibilities for good of any method of raising the standard of economic action. "It may seem to give less place to religion, but it gives it more, in the sense at least that it asks infinitely more of it" (p. 26).

The characteristic evils of the situation obtaining in a predominatingly economic civilization are found in the "perversion of means into ends," in "secondary human relations tending to seem more important than primary," and "the world of secondary human relations becoming a world of second-hand values." With all this there is a growing division of sympathy and outlook between different sections of society, and this "has now found physical embodiment in the segregation of well-to-do and working-class districts; so that, to that extent, the outer structure of society is a hindrance, instead of hindering hindrances, to the good life." The author allows that some of these evils can only be cured by collective action, and so far "the Christian view of the economic situation will have to express itself in politics." But the church "has a specific and vital part to play, complementary to but distinct from the part to be played by the state."

We can do no more than briefly indicate the suggestions contained in the final lecture as to what religion can contribute to the situation brought about by modern economic development. The primary duty is the re-assertion of true values in life—the setting of our affections towards the things that really matter. “An attitude of mind which seems simple to one brought up, say, as Wordsworth was, has with most of us got to be sought and cared for, to be cherished and fed.” Then, in spite of the power of the industrial system, “the last word is always with the consumer if the consumer has real wants and real values of his own.” But though the spiritual centre of life is thus of primary importance, that is not to mean that we are to “take to” God and the soul “as a refuge,” giving up hope of influencing the economic system: we have certain responsibilities towards it as a system in which we are involved: we may say that “there is in the system something which flourishes because of a denial of what the Christian must think fundamental in human nature,” and if this is so we must do what we can to remedy it. It is not the function of the church to choose the specific remedy, but it can urge men to the administrative and technical work required without telling them how to do it. Above all the church can work to break down misunderstanding and mistrust and inspire men with the new respect for human personality that is urgently required.

“If we all saw to it—as we easily might—that our own small circle of friends cut across the division of classes, we should at once help towards bringing about the condition we desire. Wherever that is being done something fruitful is happening. But it must be done wholeheartedly. We have got to abolish what I sometimes think is the most sinister of our social divisions, the disastrous division of men into those who do good to other people and those who only have good done to them.”

In that last quotation we feel the spirit that must underlie all fruitful contributions to this vexed question—the spirit which in social relations corresponds to “conversion” in the religious sphere. We take leave of the Master of Balliol’s little book with thankfulness not only for the sober reasoning which it provides on this subject, but for the whole tone of it and for the affinities which are appropriately expressed in his tribute

(in the preface) to the memory of Charles Gore as "a source of inspiration to many by his hold on the meaning of Christian brotherhood."

STEPHEN LIBERTY.

An Essay on Philosophical Method. By R. G. COLLINGWOOD.
(Oxford: Clarendon Press (Humphrey Milford). 1933).
Price, 10s.

THE main problem with which this delightfully written and stimulating essay is concerned is the relation between philosophical and scientific method. Can the philosopher use the same method of investigation as the natural scientist employs? Such is the question which Mr. Collingwood examines and seeks to answer, and to it he replies by a decided negative.

The procedure by which he attempts to defend his thesis is to instance and investigate the many cases where (as it seems to him) the "scientific" method comes to grief when applied to the realm of philosophy. He maintains that the traditional formal logic,—the chief intellectual tool of most of the empirical sciences and, in the judgement of some philosophers at least (though apparently Mr. Collingwood is not among their number) the very same thing as mathematics, — must be abandoned in the realm of philosophy. He argues that in philosophy classes "overlap," and he instances Judgement and Inference as cases in point. "That it is raining is a judgement; that it is raining because I can hear it is an inference. Of these two statements, one includes the other; and it is therefore clear that the specific classes overlap: a judgement may also be an inference, an inference may also be a judgement" (p. 36). Affirmation and Denial, again, are not mutually exclusive for the philosopher; nor, again, are the Universal, the Particular, and the Singular. In every true Philosophical Judgement, there is both an Affirmation *and* a Denial, while all three "Qualitative" Forms coexist in the one Judgement. Mr. Collingwood also contends that this "overlap" is true of all philosophical concepts, including those of psychology, ethics, and æsthetics.

It will be clear from this summary statement that, however new Mr. Collingwood's line of attack, the issue with which he is concerned is no new one. From recent philosophers, the dualism for which he contends has had seemingly little sup-

port. For whereas those who have to a greater or less extent come under Hegelian influence have usually contended that science needs reinterpretation on the basis of the idealistic methods, those in the other camp have maintained with Franz Brentano that *vera philosophiae methodus nulla alia nisi scientiae naturalis est*. The two ideals of method,—the Idealist and the Natural Scientific,—have been set up as alternatives, and it has been ordinarily assumed that one or other of them ought to be consistently pursued by the student in quest of knowledge. Mr. Collingwood, on the other hand, advocates the use of both methods—the philosophical, which is roughly the Idealist, by the philosopher, and the scientific by the scientist.

On the surface there seems a great deal to be said for the abandonment of this *Entweder-Oder*. But, on Mr. Collingwood's interpretation of philosophical method, it raises an immediate difficulty which he does not seem to have faced, and in our judgement this objection is so fundamental that it vitiates the whole argument. Concisely stated, it is this. Mr. Collingwood is defending the differences between two species of "method,"—the philosophical and the scientific. Now "method" is evidently on his principles a philosophical and not a scientific concept. Hence its two species must overlap. If "the fallacy of precarious margins" (cp. p. 48) is to be avoided, the overlap of the two methods must extend over the whole domain of philosophy and science. The two methods, indeed, will not be identical,—this would only be concluded by one who fell a victim to "the fallacy of identified coincidents" (p. 49). But, being both *methods*, they must over a wide range coincide. Accordingly the root assumption underlying Mr. Collingwood's essay seems to us to be indefensible on his own principles, and to require that philosophical and scientific method should overlap after all.

In support of this deduction from Mr. Collingwood's premisses, we find a number of facts scattered through the essay. Nowhere is it clearly indicated what concepts *are* philosophical. For whereas many concepts can be immediately assigned to the scientific class, a large number of those which are accounted philosophical have little claim at all to the position accorded them. In fact, it seems to be sometimes assumed that any concept which is not clearly scientific is *ipso facto* philosophical. Thus, since the concepts "poetry" and

"music" can overlap (as witnessed by the "song," which is evidently not a third species, pp. 28 f.), it appears that these two concepts must be assigned to the realm of philosophy. In fact, all æsthetic entities seem to be somehow philosophical. Elsewhere it is also implied that all psychological entities, e.g. sensation, are philosophical. And again, the attempt to differentiate between the scientific and the philosophical on the basis of measurability is also unsatisfactory. It is true that we can measure heat, and not goodness (p. 70). But there are plenty of scientific concepts denoting entities incapable of measurement, e.g. colour (as opposed to wave-lengths), roughness (of a surface), and so on.

One further point. In Chapter VI, Mr. Collingwood characterizes philosophical thinking as "categorical," as contrasted with the "hypothetical" character of scientific thinking. It is a subject about which he has thought deeply, and his attempt in connexion with it to discover the essence of the Ontological Argument is worthy of the most careful study. But as regards the main contention of the chapter, we feel the proposed *differentia* of scientific and philosophical method will not work. Many, if not most, of the propositions of mathematics are categorical. The assertion that "there are no even prime numbers greater than 2" expresses a fact about the structure of the universe as "categorical" as the statement that "Paddington Station is at present being reconstructed." Similarly, the natural sciences are not constituted solely by the hypothetical propositions which they happen to contain. Such judgements as "water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen" and "copper sulphate is soluble in water" are more than merely *data* from which the scientist sets out; they are themselves part of "the body of scientific knowledge" (cp. p. 121). Unless science in the last resort aims at discovering something of the structure of reality, it loses (apart from its practical usefulness) its *raison d'être*.

F. L. CROSS.

Gottes Wille und unsere Wünsche. By KARL BARTH. (Theologische Existenz Heute, No. 7). Munich (Chr. Kaiser Verlag), 1934. Price 0.80 Marks.

THE light which this pamphlet throws upon the present religious and religio-political situation in Protestant Germany is

altogether greater than its limits would suggest. It consists of three separate pieces, introduced by a long preface. The first is a summary exposition of the Reformed Faith,—termed an *Erklärung*,—which was adopted at a Free Synod at Barmen on January 4th last by Clerical and Lay Representatives of 167 Reformed German parishes. The second is a lecture delivered before large audiences in three different places, which defends Barth's support of the Opposition clergy. The third is the essay in which he justified the "*Reinigung*" of the Dialectic Movement in theology. This last is dated October 18th, 1933, and first appeared in the Barthian periodical *Zwischen den Zeiten*. So much important material is contained in these three pieces that no one interested in contemporary German theology should miss them.

The third essay, the most important of the three theologically, reveals clearly the radical cleavages which divide different members of the Dialectical School. Barth charges many of those whom he had formerly accounted as his allies as guilty of making concessions to a *theologia naturalis*. As long ago as 1931 Gogarten (Barth urges) had shewn signs of defection, but matters reached a head when Barth confronted Gogarten with the question: "Is not your theological position indistinguishable from that of the *theologia naturalis* of Catholicism and Neo-Protestantism?" Gogarten seems to have been as non-plussed by this question as was St. Peter when faced by a not-dissimilarly worded question at Antioch. At any rate, he made no reply; and Barth now divines that perhaps Gogarten had been a concealed Thomist from the outset. Is it not possible in the light of his recent concessions, he asks, to see in its true colours the proposition from St. Thomas which Gogarten set at the beginning of his *Religiöse Entscheidung* in 1921: *Gratia non tollit naturam sed perficit*? Emil Brunner comes in for similar reproof. He, too, has reverted to the Catholic (or, alternatively, Neo-Protestant) formula, "Religion and Revelation." In the face of such teaching, it was clear that many of the contributors to *Zwischen den Zeiten* were riddled with heresy. Accordingly Barth asked himself, he tells us, whether the compromise which was thus coming into being,—*die so entstehende Limonade*, as he graphically describes it, with the usual Teutonic con-

tempt for that beverage,—was really worth while. Eduard Thurneysen fully shared Barth's misgivings, and thus the split came.

The main thesis of the *Römerbrief*,—that the Gospel is totally unrelated to the realms of philosophy, economics, and culture,—is here reasserted by Barth in all its starkness. There is no pathway from things temporal to things eternal, no *theologia naturalis*; there are only rare and occasional catastrophic acts of Divine intervention in human affairs. Herein is to be found the explanation of Barth's hostility to the Deutsch-Christen and the ideals of Reichsbishop Müller. The Deutsch-Christen have sought to correlate the Gospel and politics. In so far, it is true, the philosophy underlying the aims of the Deutsch-Christen is more in accord with the Incarnational philosophy of the Gospel than is the Theology of Crisis. But the Deutsch-Christen, in seeking to relate the Gospel to politics, have only too clearly capitulated to contemporary political ends. It is the part of the Church not to receive her orders from culture, but to inspire it and direct it; and neither Barth nor the Deutsch-Christen understand the way in which this mission is to be fulfilled. It is only Cardinal Faulhaber and his supporters who, at the present time, recognise where the true mission of the Church in Germany lies.

F. L. CROSS.

SHORT NOTICES.

Christian Myth and Ritual. By E. O. JAMES, D.Litt. pp. xvi, 345. (London, John Murray. 1933.) 12s. net.

THE authors of a recent volume of essays on *Myth and Ritual* (Oxford University Press. 1933) claim to have detected in the religious practices of Israel a certain "ritual pattern" which must have been borrowed from ancient Egypt and Babylon. This "pattern" is woven around the dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god, with whom the king is usually identified. It includes a recitation of the myth of creation, a ritual combat in which the god triumphs over his enemies, a sacred marriage between the god and mother-goddess, and a triumphal procession after this union has been consummated. Prof. James, who contributed a chapter to this volume, has now applied the same tests to Christianity, and his book, as its title is meant to suggest, is to be regarded explicitly as a sequel to the other. In a series of chapters he surveys the whole field of Christian ritual, the ceremonies of Coronation and Ordination (which he believes to be closely akin), the Initiation ceremonies, the ritual of the Altar and the rites of marriage and burial, passing on from these to processions, mystery dramas, and seasonal games and burlesques. A final chapter on "The Christian Ritual Pattern" sums up and reinforces his conclusions. He contends, in brief, that in symbolising—in however lofty and spiritual a manner—her belief in Christ as the divine King rising triumphant over his enemies, the Church followed and (being a human institution) was bound to follow that "ritual pattern" which she had inherited from a semi-Canaanized Israel and a wholly pagan Roman Empire. Prof. James disclaims at the outset any derogatory intention in his use of the term "myth" and while refusing to be led into a theological discussion acknowledges the force of the argument for a true *Præparatio Evangelii*; but his attitude may be described on the whole as that of a dispassionate scientist, treading delicately and with reverence on holy ground. How far on this strictly scientific basis his conclusions will win assent, it is difficult to say. It seems, for example, unnecessary to go back so far into the dim and distant past for analogies which ought to be at least obvious in the Old Testament; for if these analogies are *not* obvious there, it is hardly likely that Egypt or Babylon will supply them. When we remember indeed with what reverent fidelity the Early Fathers applied the Hebrew Scriptures to the ordering

of the New Dispensation (witness, for example, Clement of Rome on the old and new Priesthoods), we turn in the first place most naturally to those Scriptures to discover how far the "ritual pattern" is observable in them. But this question, which Prof. James deals with in his first chapter, is unfortunately just the question on which the former volume was least informative. To the present reviewer, at least, the evidence on this point seems tenuous in the extreme, not does it appear to him that a really strong case can be made out for the existence of this "pattern" in Jahwism, unless a religion which is admitted to have been unique in its effects is studied without reference to its most distinctive features. Those who agree that this aspect of the problem has been inadequately treated will find Prof. James' arguments unconvincing, though the evidence which he adduces for the assimilation by the Church of many curious pagan rites and ceremonies will be accepted (as surely it has long been accepted) by all. How far, indeed, the Oriental Mystery religions in the Roman Empire influenced the ritual of Christianity is a question on which a final agreement may be impossible, but it can hardly be doubted that the immemorial cults of the Mediterranean littoral have left a deep mark upon Western Catholicism. It is, in fact, a plausible conjecture that some part at least of that revolt which we call the Reformation sprang out of a deeply rooted repugnance to rites and habits of thought which were alien to the Nordic temperament, and the reappearance of the "myth and ritual" of Walhalla in modern Germany is in this respect not without significance.

W.J.P.-A.

The Archaeology of Herod's Temple with a Commentary on the Tractate "Middoth". By F. J. HOLLIS, D.D. With thirty plans, pp. xiv., 366. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 1934). 18s. net.

DR. HOLLIS, who contributed to *Myth and Ritual* an interesting chapter on "The Sun-cult and the Temple at Jerusalem," has extended his researches in the present volume to embrace the archaeology of the Temple of Herod. After an introductory chapter in which he compares the evidence of Josephus with that of the tractate Middôth in the Babylonian Talmud, he devotes the first part of his book to a careful archaeological survey of the site, and more particularly of its ancient contours to which he rightly attributes a great importance. A "reconstruction of the buildings and courts on the Temple Hill" is undertaken with equal thoroughness in Part II, and the remainder of the book (about a third) contains a translation of "Middôth" with a full commentary

upon its numerous obscurities. It will be obvious that this work is primarily intended for specialists, as the average reader will discover with some dismay before he has proceeded very far. What the "Chel" was and how it ran ; what was the extent of the Court of Israel and what its relation to the Court of the Priests ; what Court was described by the Rabbinical writers as 500 cubits square ; where the Court of the Women lays ;—these are some of the major problems raised. But the list might be almost indefinitely extended ; for the axis of the Temple, the shape and situation of the Altar, the location of the many chambers and gates and porticoes of this remarkable enclosure are all questions to which the archaeologist has to address himself, and to which, on evidence all too insecure, he is required to return a reasonably confident answer. To follow Dr. Hollis through the labyrinth of all these details would be impossible in the course of a brief review, and it must suffice for one who has not himself made a special study of the site to record an inexpert judgment on the results obtained. A great deal very clearly depends upon whether the Sakhra, the Sacred Rock of Mt. Moriah, was taken as the site for the great Altar of Burnt Offering or whether the Holy of Holies was built around and over it. Dr. Hollis favours the second of these views and his arguments have much to commend them. From this point and from his theory that the axis of the Temple passed through the Sakhra at right angles to the eastern limit of the Platform of the Rock, his reconstruction develops with an almost irresistible cogency. Certainly, while many details remain to the end uncertain (and are probably incapable of being settled) his "lay-out" of the complex of Courts and Porticoes produces a very natural design out of what seemed from a superficial study of the evidence an almost hopeless chaos. How far his arguments are open to challenge upon particular points is a question which only a specialist can decide, but enough has perhaps been said to suggest that there is abundance of material here for careful study, and a solution which it may be hard for his critics to controvert. For the rest, if the more casual reader feels somewhat appalled by the complexities of the problem, he would be well-advised to turn first to the author's commentary on Middôth (the evidence of which, it should be said in passing, Dr. Hollis handles with commendable caution) ; for he should find there sufficient elements of novelty to excite his interest in the main subject of the book. The connection, for example, of Rev. xvi, 15 with the burning of the clothes of a Temple guard found asleep at his post (pp. 242-43) will probably have escaped him hitherto, and it may come as a distinct and somewhat unpleasant shock to learn that workmen could be lowered in cages into the Holy of Holies through an aperture in the Upper Chamber of the Temple (p.

329). Details of this kind abound in the tractate and in the useful notes which accompany it, and they bring home to us, with vivid and often picturesque brevity, that life of which we only catch a fleeting glimpse in the New Testament. If only for this we should have to thank Dr. Hollis for his labours, and it may be hoped that having "reconstructed" the Courts and Buildings of the "Mount of the House," he will go on to rebuild for us with an equal diligence the Past of which they were after all no more than the material shell.

W.J.P.-A.

The Economic Morals of the Jesuits. By J. BRODRICK. (Oxford University Press). 5s.

FATHER BRODRICK is a Jesuit who loves his Order with all his heart, and is anxious to defend it from attack. What impresses us is the general discontent in Roman Catholic countries due to the commercial operations of the Society of Jesus in the eighteenth century. In Portugal Pombal deported its members in 1759, and confiscated all their property in that land. Other countries followed his example, and by a royal edict France banished them in 1764; Charles III banished them from Spain in 1767; and the Jesuits were expelled from Naples in 1767 and from Parma the following year. The only country that welcomed them was Prussia, and this welcome came from Frederick the Great, the Protestant benevolent despot. Now it seems to us that this attitude towards the Society of Jesus on the part of Roman Catholic countries calls for notice at the hands of Father Brodrick, but it does not receive such notice. This is all the more remarkable when we consider the circumstance that the main ground of opposition to this Order was economic, and Father Brodrick professes to meet objections to the economic morals of his Order. Dr. H. M. Robertson has attacked these economic morals, and one is quite willing to admit that the author can score debating points. Can he effectively defend the economic morals of his Order? On historical grounds we doubt it, and we also doubt it on the grounds of Political Economy. No doubt Dr. Robertson commits mistakes in referring to the officials of the Order of Jesus, and the author draws attention to these mistakes. The mistake of stating that a man is the prior of the Jesuits betrays the fact that Dr. Robertson is unacquainted with the inner working of this Order, but it leaves his opposition to the economic teaching unaffected. Here and there the author indulges in statements which puzzle us considerably. He obviously considers that asceticism in the Roman Catholic communion differs, say, from Puritan asceticism. Of course the outward forms worn by asceticism vary from com-

munion to communion, but surely the inward spirit is the same. For our own part we can see little difference between Blaise Pascal of Port Royal in his asceticism and Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding, a contemporary movement with Port Royal, "in his asceticism." We also think that the Jesuits have never morally recovered from the "Lettres Provinciales" of Pascal, and we think this in spite of Father Brodrick's able book.

R.H.M.

History and the Self. By HILDA D. OAKELEY. (Williams and Norgate). 10s. 6d.

BREADTH of reading and width of thought go to the composition of the able book Miss Oakeley has written, and the historian will derive both pleasure and profit from her careful consideration of the procession of events we agree to call the story of the past. Her book is one long protest against the view that the course of history is inevitable, and her protest is supported by formidable reasoning. On the other hand, we have to bear in mind that such makers of history as Bismarck strongly contended for the view that Miss Oakeley strenuously attacks. Bismarck held before 1864 that a war with Denmark lay in the logic of history; he held before 1866 that a war with Austria lay in the logic of history; and he held before 1870 that a war with France also lay in the logic of history. Did not the course of events justify him? Many of us believed that from 1900 onwards a war with Germany was inevitable, and the course of events justified this view. Now against all such views the author utters her protest, and supports it by weighty reasoning. We feel strongly inclined to support her from another angle. For the view that certain events are inevitable partly rests upon the basis that history is a science, as much a branch of science as any investigation of natural phenomena. Here Miss Oakeley has much to say on the part that accident seems to have played in the course of the past. She gives instance after instance, and we also give instances.

In chemistry the mixture of two atoms of hydrogen with one of oxygen invariably produces water, and the form of the instruments of the mixture matters not. In history the method of mixture of the atoms is more significant than the elements brought into contact. Even in chemistry oil and water do not mix. What misery the world would have been saved had Luther and Erasmus, for instance, been as sympathetic towards each other as Luther and Melancthon were. The characters of Luther and Erasmus could neither be assimilated nor amalgamated. Would the Reformation have been so successful had not five such men as Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Cranmer and Knox appeared simultane-

ously ? Frederick the Great gives the other point of view when he insists that "the older one becomes the more clearly one sees that King Hazard fashions three-fourths of the events in this miserable world"; a conception which Cyprian held. Voltaire is never tired of dwelling on the small springs on which the greater events of history turn. Was Gibbon right in his belief that if Charles Martel had been defeated at Tours, the creed of Islam would have overspread the greater part of Europe ? If Mahommed had been killed in one of the first battles he fought, would a great monotheistic creed have arisen in Arabia ? What turn would events have taken if Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedon, had been as incompetent as Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius ? In the spring of 323 B.C., the control of the framework of civilisation from the Adriatic to the Punjab rested upon the single will of Alexander. He was snatched away, and the union, perhaps premature, of East and West passed away with him. What form would French art have taken had not Charles VIII set out on his expedition to Italy, thereby making France feel the influence of Giotto, the founder of modern painting ? It is easy to speak of the inevitable working out of cause and effect, but is the solution Miss Oakeley demands, so simple ? Had Frederick the Great never lived, would Prussia have begun the war which started the country on the career which rendered the World War possible ? In 1878, had the bullet of Nobiling cut short the days of Wilhelm I and given his son the throne ten years before 1888, the history of Germany would have been fundamentally altered. Indeed had Frederick the Noble lived in all probability the devastation wrought from 1914 to 1918 would never have occurred. There has been a destroying revolution in Russia since March 1917. There would have been a preserving revolution had Alexander I been succeeded by a ruler like himself in 1825, and not by Nicholas I. The personality of another Alexander I would have effected as epoch-making a transformation as either Luther or Bismarck. The "ifs" of history, of themselves, are almost enough to bestow upon history the freedom for which Miss Oakeley craves.

R.H.M.

The Romance of Parish Registers. By R. Waterville-Muncey. Foreword by the LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH. (Lincoln Williams). 6s.

THERE is little need for the Rev. R. Waterville-Muncey to appeal to the readers of this quarterly on the ground that it is desirable to consult parish registers : here he is preaching to the converted. He writes agreeably on the varied information to be extracted from them, and adduces instance after instance in order to sup-

port his views. It is difficult to meet with parish registers beginning before so late a date as 1550. Some of the most useful pages in this book give a list of parish registers in print, and on glancing through this list we noticed that the year 1550 was generally the earliest date. There are some exceptions to this statement, *e.g.* Alford, Lincs, beginning in 1538; Ashbourne, Derby, beginning this year, and Ashton by Birmingham beginning in 1544. To-day the Rural Dean in the course of his yearly visit to each parish in his rural deanery is supposed to look into the state of the parish registers, though even yet we meet with cases of carelessness. Lately we saw in a vicarage a diary kept in the early part of the fourteenth century lying on a shelf in the vicar's study. There was no cover on it and it was obvious when we spoke to him that he did not realise its extreme value from the historical angle. The author comments on the remarks sometimes placed in the parish register. The pity is that it is the exception that is recorded, not the rule. Occasionally we meet with, say, the price of corn, but it is usually an abnormally high or low price. We also note that the registers were seldom regularly kept and that there are clear signs that the incumbent now and then wrote entry after entry or even employed a professional scribe.

R.H.M.

Schleiermacher and Religious Education. By A. R. OSBORN.
(Oxford University Press). 7s. 6d.

SCHLEIERMACHER passed away in 1834, and it is inevitable that his importance in the world of theology to-day is nothing like so great as it was a century ago. Still, allowing for this circumstance, his position is an outstanding one, and we do not believe that Mr. Osborn is right in holding that in our generation his writings on religious education are almost entirely unknown. They are of course unknown to the thoughtless: they are known to the thoughtful. For the latter the author has written a vigorous exposition of one who commands no little attention not merely in Germany but in all lands where religious education is valued. He sets out with the age, the problem, and the man, and with the background placed before us he takes up his proper task, and he takes it up with enthusiasm. His enthusiasm is based on first-hand knowledge, and the bibliography and the references attest the care with which Mr. Osborn has worked. There is illuminating comment on the views of the great German theologian, though occasionally a reference to the background in the later chapters, as well as in the first one, would have helped the reader to a closer grasp of the positions advanced. The author claims for Schleiermacher the same place in religious education that Pestalozzi,

Froebel, and Herbart occupy in general education. It is a high place, and this exposition convinces us that it is a place that is fully warranted by all that Schleiermacher achieved and by the legacy he bequeathed to succeeding generations.

R.H.M.

The Decline and Fall of the Mediaeval Papacy. By L. ELLIOTT Binns. (Methuen). 16s.

WITHIN the space of 371 pages Dr. Elliott Binns describes the decline and fall of the ecclesiastical aspects of the Roman Empire just as Gibbon described the secular ones. Of course this contrast is boldly marked, for it is no less certain that Gibbon occupied himself with the ecclesiastical aspects than that Dr. Elliott Binns occupies himself with the secular ones. The author begins with the growth of the Mediaeval papacy culminating in power under Innocent III, and he finishes with the sack of the imperial city in 1527. In order to cover this mighty span of history, it is obvious that the author must possess, in a supreme degree, the power of omitting the unessential and concentrating upon the essential. That he possesses this power we can have no doubt when we have ended the perusal of his attractive pages. On the principle that first things come first, he concerns himself with the most important matters in his period. Accordingly there are many omissions of matters we feel quite certain he would like to discuss. This is unavoidable in a book of this size. It is cheering to observe that the writer is never willing to shelter himself behind a narration of facts, and that he is at all times willing to comment upon the tendencies underlying the facts. What were, he asks, the causes of the decline and fall of the mediaeval papacy? Naturally there is a complexity of causes, though he plainly leads to the view that secularisation was the outstanding one. Yet for this secularisation there is much to be said. Either the Church was to become a sect or it was to own a world mission. The choice lay before it in the fourth century, and we all know with what zeal the Church embraced the State. Dr. Elliott Binns suggests the additional consideration, Could it have done otherwise? For the moment there was an alliance between Church and State; it was almost certain that the Church should tend to become the ecclesiastical side of the State, and that the State should become the secular side of the Church. It is not the least of the many merits of this book that we are repeatedly forced back to take this view of the current of events. No doubt there came a cruel nemesis when the Church tried to reform herself. For the Black Death had destroyed the mediaeval world which really ended in the terrible winter of 1348-49.

God fulfils himself in many ways
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

The good custom of the Church had been corrupted, and the conciliar movement bore emphatic testimony to the need of reform. No one sees this more clearly than the author. The Council of Pisa, the Council of Constance, the Council of Pavia, and the Council of Basle endeavoured to anticipate the day when reform—if unduly delayed—would turn to revolution, and under the guidance of the author we witness reform turning to revolution. The conciliar movement was the first to raise the problems of the State in their present form, *e.g.* consent is of the essence of law ; all power is a trust ; government is therefore limited in authority by its purposes ; the need of representation limits the validity of absolutism ; need is always a valid cause of change against historic prescription. The catastrophe of the Council of Basle lay in the fact that nascent national sentiment proved too strong for joint European action. No doubt Europe did not grasp the significance of this fact. The conciliar system stood for an inchoate federalism and the rights of national groups. The Pope stood for a centralising bureaucracy and absolutism in the Church, points brought out with admirable pith and point by Dr. Elliott Binns. The Pope triumphed, and his triumph witnessed not merely absolutism in the Church, but it was one day to witness absolutism in the State. The nature of post-Renaissance Catholicism was determined at Basle. The question, however, was wide, and concerned the character not only of the ecclesiastical, but also of the civil State. Absolutism, which was to be the rule throughout Europe, with one outstanding exception, triumphed first of all in the Church. The conflict between the friends and the enemies of the conciliar movement was the same as that which—in France, Spain, Germany, and within an ace in England—eventually decided in favour of a strong monarchy, an ubiquitous administration, and the removal of all constitutional restraints on the activities of governments.

R.H.M.

A History of Religion. By HERBERT H. GOWEN. (The S.P.C.K.), 12s. 6d.

IN his history of comparative religion Dr. Gowen has achieved a miracle of readableness as well as a miracle of condensation. Book I examines the principles of primitive religion ; Book II the primitive religions of the Australians, the Africans, the Asians, the Americans, the Kelts, the Teutons, and the Slavs ; Book III the State religions of antiquity, meaning thereby the religions of the Euphrates valley, Egypt, ancient Persia, ancient Greece,

ancient Rome, and the Amerindian Empires ; Book IV the religions of the Orient such as the religions of India, China, Japan and the Buddhism in Southern Asia ; Book V takes us through Judaism to the Christ. In this last book there are four sections, dealing with Judaism, the middle term, Christianity to the rise of Islam ; the story of Islam ; and the second millenium of the Christian Church. In 682 pages this vast outline is covered, and covered with success. It seems to us that the originality of this able book consists in interrelating backgrounds in a manner that is both suggestive and stimulating. Let the student of ancient religions in Greece and Rome turn to the third book, and he will receive a shock of surprise when he sees how the religions of the Euphrates valley, of Egypt, and of ancient Persia were preparing the way for what became the religions professed by Greece and Rome. The reader will also perceive the synchronism and similarity of a series of religious movements occurring between the seventh and the fifth century B.C. among the advanced peoples from China to Italy, and associated with such names as Isaiah and Pythagoras, Zoroaster and Buddha, Confucius and Laotse. In a word, the comparative method is employed throughout this book, and the outcome is that the reader is set thinking in many directions which even the author scarcely contemplated. Dr. Gowen has taken in hand a task of considerable magnitude, and he has finished it to the satisfaction of all who turn to a volume of encyclopaedic knowledge and no less insight.

R.H.M.

A History of the Church. By P. HUGHES. Vol. I. (Sheed & Ward). 10s. 6d.

IN his first volume Mr. Hughes surveys the world in which the Church was founded, and in 354 pages he brings his survey down to the year 711. The author is a Roman Catholic, and he relies mainly on Roman Catholic works, and he does so because his chief aim is to provide us with the outstanding results of forty years of Roman Catholic scholarship. To our surprise he steadily refers to the great work of Mgr. Duchesne, which is still on the Index, though he urges that "it is none the less true that in the right hands and critically used, it cannot but be of the very highest service to all students of Church History." His chapters successively deal with the world in which the Church was founded : the first foundation of the Church ; the first contacts with the pagan religious world ; the crises of the third century ; the way of Christian life ; the Church and the pagan Roman Empire ; the Arians ; the Catholic restoration, 359-82 ; Rome and the Catholic East ; and the traditional faith and the imperial

policy, 452-711. Clearly the course covered is exhaustive, so far as it goes. These ten chapters are carefully written, and, making due allowance for the writer's attitude of approach, are scholarly. We hear but little about St. Peter, and Mr. Hughes informs us that "The nucleus of that society in which the Kingdom is thus visibly expressed are the twelve disciples whom the record is careful to name—the Apostles, and one of them, Simon, is the shepherd appointed to feed the flock, the key-bearer of the palace, the rock-like foundation and therefore renamed by the Founder himself, and to be known ever after, not Simon but Peter." True, there is a long note translated from Father Jacquin's "*L'Antiquité Chrétienne*," bearing on the question of St. Peter's martyrdom. One merit of the volume is the variety of aspects of the life and work of the Church which the author places before the reader. For Mr. Hughes is at least as much concerned with *idées forces* as with the facts of the first seven centuries. There are no foot-notes, and there is a careful bibliography, though we cannot help wishing in the latter that the author had paid attention to the writings of historians not of his own communion. He proclaims that "if no others are mentioned it is not from any suspicion of non-Catholic historians, as such—by no means." Yet somehow he leaves the impression upon our mind that he harbours suspicions of them.

R.H.M.

Sir Thomas More and his Friends. By E. M. G. Routh. (Oxford University Press). 1934). 12s. 6d.

MUCH has been written of late about Sir Thomas More, but Miss Routh's biography is not in consequence superfluous. Her book is admirably arranged and compact. She keeps her eye fixed on her hero and admits nothing that is irrelevant to her story. All the facts that are known will be found in these 236 pages and they are for the most part illustrated by quotations from More's works. She lets her hero interpret himself. She has no axe to grind. She is not concerned to justify his beatitude by explaining away his more liberal utterances. Nor does she argue that he was a liberal who deserted from the ranks of progress. She shows him to us as a man of infinite charm, the ideal father and the perfect friend. The motto from Erasmus which she prefixes to the book is really its keynote.

H.M.S.

Saint Birgitta of Sweden. By EDITH PEACEY (Nun of the Brigittine Order). (Washbourne and Bogan). pp. 300. 12s. 6d. net.

To write the *Life* of a Saint well is, admittedly, a difficult and rarely compassed achievement :

L'hagiographie était une branche maintenant perdue de l'art... elle était devenue un des lieux communs de la bondieuserie ; so, in *En Route*, Huysmans delivered himself, with the bitter emphasis of a man whose religious recovery had been singularly difficult, noways aided, either, as he strove to turn faith into practice, by the piety à la meringue, if it may be so expressed, spread so lavishly round him, round him of all people, who confessed that he

avait été ramené à la religion par l'art,
which need mislead no one if his plea in *Les Foules de Lourdes* is remembered :

l'art qui est la seule chose propre sur la terre après la sainteté.

The difficulty of portraying a saint justly and effectively is a fact, not an idle excuse of incompetents. Huysmans analysed is skilfully and at length, The first step towards tolerable hagiography is recognition of what is actually involved.

S. Birgitta is hardly one of the most widely known saints. Three contemporaries wrote her Life ; her two confessors, within four months of her death, composed a *Vita Sanctae Brigittae*, while the Archbishop of Upsala, using the same title, wrote another later on. The still existing fragments of these, with Birgitta's *Revelations* (a Swedish original) are preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm.

She died at Rome, in 1373. Already versions in Latin of her *Revelations* were being read in London and Oxford ; and, after Henry V founded Syon Monastery for the Brigittine Order in England, her *Revelations* were found constantly : they reached the blind and deaf Chaplain-poet, John Audelay, who wrote over 200 lines in *Salutation of S. Birgitta*. The Garrett MS., one of the seven Middle English versions known, found its way to America ; it was published recently by the Early English Text Society, as being "a selection of the best revelations . . . and by far the most studied and interesting prose."

The gap between her convincingly direct, plain, severe and humble-minded writings and this *Life*, a mass of facts, sandwiched with over facile verdicts on men and things (as e.g. on "the Schoolmen," p. 44, whose performance no one can treat adequately in a few lines), is indeed wide. There are no references to justify this crowd of alleged facts and brief judgments ; no documentation, beyond a short bibliography at the end. The consequent bewilderment seems to have struck the writer at last, for her closing remark is an attempt at justification :

No sceries have been created other than those which information from authoritative sources makes permissible ; which may satisfy casual readers if they peruse Saints' Lives,

but may leave the student gasping ; specially as he realises that where his knowledge suffices him to check these verdicts, he does not agree. For the author's method with insistent, some of them secular, difficulties may be fairly described as a "smoothing" process. No more salient example need be offered than her surprising comment on *The Canterbury Tales* :

Of the spiritual side of the pilgrimages, Chaucer shows little, or rather perhaps he took the spiritual motive for granted, making his pilgrims go "to Canterbury with ful devout corage the holy blisful martir for to seke that hem hath often holpen."

Remembering some in that varied company, comment seems needless. On p. 80, she touches, in less than a dozen lines, on the possible influence of Tauler, Eckhardt and Suso on the saint. Innumerable descriptive pages of not too enlivening description of contemporary persons and events might so well have been sacrificed to allow room for some handling of so interesting and vital a matter. Moreover, Birgitta's *Revelations* are almost submerged and lost in these factually over crowded pages, foreign as so much of their contents seem to this great woman's singular simplicity ; for after all it is there or surely nowhere that we gain an indelible impression of this most real and virile saint. Chapter piled on chapter cannot achieve what a paragraph of her own "telling" can; e.g., our Lord, in vision, sending her forth to teach, says

I have sent my words, which are likened to wine, unto my servants by thee. . . . Mine holy spirit shall teach thee the whither thou shalt go, and what thou shalt say.

Her response makes accounts of her as unnecessary as a *Life* of Isaiah himself would be :

O king of all glory and bliss, giver of all wisdom and granter of all virtues, why takest thou me to such a work, that have wasted my body in sins. I am as an ass, lewd and unwise and defective in virtues : and I have trespassed in all things and nothing amended.

Like most of the saints, she does not leave much for any one else to say.

G.H.

Saint Paula : adapted from the Tenth Edition of the French of Mgr. F. Lagrange, by the BENEDICTINES OF TALACRE, with a Foreword by the BISHOP OF MENEVIA. (Washbourne and Bogan). pp. xxiv, 286. 12s. 6d. net.

"ADAPTED" ! The reader wonders how much that reveals, covers, or possibly transmutes. Dr. Francis Vaughan, in his foreword,

intending a compliment, claims that it is a "rendering which never for one moment reads like a translation." An uneasy suspicion remains. In the process has not much been lost of what most of us prize in the greater French writers, their lucidity with exactness and reality, all of it devoid of "edifying" sugar? Is not the suspicion justified by the observable difference in style and standpoint of the introduction, which deals pictorially well, so far as a few pages allow, with Rome—its life and atmosphere as those particularly affected the Christians—in the fourth century, the difference of that from the rest, the story of S. Jerome's contact with SS. Paula and Eustochium, and with Blaesilla? An era tempts to sentimentality so much less than individuals do. Anyway, adaptation seems less operative there.

As we all know, S. Jerome was an ascetic of ascetics, and though his tender sensitiveness escapes unsuppressedly in some of his epistles to these friends, "who" as he wrote to Asella, "whatever the world may think are always mine in Christ," yet their general tenour is regulated by his ever-present self-discipline. Moreover, these great ladies were saints while retaining always the virile qualities of Roman patrician women.

Therefore, excellent as the book may prove as an introduction for those knowing little or nothing of this episode in early Christian life,—long post-Pauline, indeed, yet recalling the great apostle's debt to remarkable women—it would be untrue to pretend that it can serve as a substitute for acquaintance with S. Jerome's *Epistles*: though if it leads people to them much will have been achieved.

The art of letter-writing may be past. That it is, is among the statements parrotted to satiety. Yet while, to cite only two and so dissimilar instances, the epistles of S. Jerome and of Erasmus remain accessible, the world will retain at least the means of knowing what letters can signify,—and not to the original recipient only:

But what care I to whom thy Letters be?

I change the name, and thou dost write to me;—

so thought Henry Vaughan, as he lifted Seneca's *Letters* from a shelf in "Sir Thomas Bodley's Library; the Author being then in Oxford."

The outline of the story is clear, and details abound in these pages; it is the atmospheric setting which is wanting. Blaesilla, whose youthful worldliness passed, on her husband's premature death, into a holiness even more signal, and who died four months after conversion, may serve as substantiation of this criticism. Five pages, at the close of chapter vi, purport to describe the effect on her mother and on S. Jerome. Surprisingly, Paula's grief was uncontrollable, till Jerome, himself in deep distress,

recalled her ; even sternly asking : "Is this the meaning of your vow to me that you would lead the religious life ?" The rebuke is duly recorded ; S. Jerome's agony is not omitted. But his most poignant opening words are :

O that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears that I might weep . . . for holiness, mercy, innocence and chastity, and all the virtues ; for all are gone now that Blaesilla is dead. For her sake I do not grieve, but for myself I must ; my loss is too great to be borne with resignation."

S. Jerome !

The comment, in chapter vi, is :

There are few writings in ancient ecclesiastical history so beautiful, so full of tenderness, and they still have the power to comfort a mother's heart.

Left thus, it all hangs in the air. Nevertheless, in the letter's next paragraph comes the secret—issue, as all who have read him, know, of the thought-out, long-suffered experience of pain and its purpose ; the secret which helped him not only to comfort, but to retrieve Paula, and which still avails to comfort all stricken with pain that looks intolerable. S. Jerome was tender indeed : but underneath was the unshakable wisdom of the Christian philosophic ascetic, who consoles indeed and lastingly :

Do not great waves of doubt surge up over my soul as over yours ? How comes it, I ask, that godless men live to old age in the enjoyment of this world's riches ? How comes it that untutored youth and innocent childhood are cut down while still in bud ? . . . when I have thought of these things, like the prophet I have learned to say, *I studied that I might know this thing: it is a labour in my sight. Until I go into the sanctuary of God, and understand concerning their last ends.*

This vitally explanatory side of S. Jerome and S. Paula seems inadequately set forth in this rendering of Mgr. Lagrange's book.

G.H.

A History of the Parish of Birstall, Yorkshire. By H. C. CRADOCK. (S.P.C.K.). 10s. 6d.

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Cradock, Vicar of Birstall from 1906 to 1915, should have died so shortly after he had seen this volume through the press, for the grateful tributes of his readers may be paid now only to his memory. His history is a model of what a parish history should be ; based upon thorough

and careful investigation of records, local and national, detailed and accurate ; and written with a simple lucidity of style. To the present reviewer furthermore its story is of particular interest, for he was born and grew to his majority in the region covered by Mr. Cradock's narrative. Few of the daughter churches, whose severance from the original parish of Birstall is traced by the author, built amid the expanding industrial villages of Spen Valley can lay any claim to architectural beauty. The reverse indeed would be true of the majority of them ; and in the reviewer's youth a pleasant relief was afforded on Sunday evenings during the summer months by attendance upon divine service in "the old church" of Birstall or the Norman church at Hartshead. To a reader thus familiar with the locality, whose ecclesiastical history is traced through more than a thousand years, the volume is of moving interest because of the peculiarities which its author records. But to historical students of the English parish and its church, who are unfamiliar with the territorial region described the narrative is nevertheless well worth perusal for its illustration of characteristics common to all parts of this island.

Mr. Cradock's story begins with the presumptive foundation of Birstall parish as an offshoot from that of Dewsbury in the Calder valley (where tradition avers that Paulinus preached) and its vicissitudes of fortune during the Anglo-Saxon period culminating in the harrying of the North by William the Conqueror. After that devastating visitation Birstall Church raised its head again in the early 11th century, and thereafter (sending out daughters in the chapels of ease at Cleckheaton and Wyke) developed steadily, though still experiencing many fluctuations of fortune, the advowson being bestowed in 1286 upon Nostell Priory, and a vicar having been appointed in 1280 because of the other avocations of the rector. In 1300 the priory secured leave from the Archbishop of York to appropriate the rectory, and the northern primate collated his first nominee to the vicarage in 1309. At the dissolution of Nostell priory its property passed to the crown, and in 1546 Henry VIII granted much of the Birstall property to his new foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge which remains still rector of the parish. During the troubled Tudor days the vicars of Birstall were numbered amongst those who studied to be quiet in the land, retaining their benefices amidst the confusion of changes ; and not till 1587 did the parish receive a Puritan vicar, who was followed in 1614 by a Laudian divine, of sufficient distinction to be chaplain both to Charles I and to Laud. There followed the vagaries of the Civil War and Commonwealth, which brought many changes to Birstall in the personnel of its ministers, and the Restoration which witnessed the return of the Laudian vicar Dr. Marsh. Thereafter the Spen Valley

district became a strong centre of Nonconformity, George Fox visiting Hightown in 1652 ; and in the following century John Wesley was a frequent visitor, as were his brother Charles and also Whitefield. The results of the religious movements of the Hanoverian age remain still in the form of Methodist and also Moravian churches. Meanwhile, Birstall church had adapted itself to the prevalent fashions by the introduction of large pews and of a three-decker pulpit, together with the erection of galleries and of an organ. Towards the end of this epoch the parish characteristically was faced by the problem of the doubling of its population from 9,000 in 1764 to 17,639 in 1811 without any increase in the number of churches, so that apart from the Methodist chapels the new industrial workers were spiritually untended. After the termination of the Napoleonic wars the task of the creation of new parishes and of the building of new churches was taken in hand, and Mr. Cradock describes the development which has made Birstall the fecund parent of sixteen daughters, shared in this present century between two dioceses, Wakefield and Bradford, both the result of the extension of population in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The story thus briefly summarised is related by Mr. Cradock with a wealth of delightful illustration, and is instinct with the English tradition of religious and civil life. Such parish histories are an epitome of national history ; and in an age when a new mobility of transport is loosening the ties of local association and sentiment, the popularisation of such knowledge is an invaluable and essential element in local education. It is greatly to be desired that this volume may come into the hands of all parochial clergymen and schoolmasters of the ancient parish of Birstall. For the industry, scholarship and care of Mr. Cradock no praise can be excessive. In addition to its chronological history his volume is adorned by many photographs and enriched by tabulated lists of vicars and other useful information. It embraces indeed a mine of useful and necessary information. Throughout the author has exercised the utmost self-restraint, having scarcely allowed any individual opinion to divert the even tenor of his narrative, a circumstance to be regretted. Nor should his modesty be allowed to conceal the skill and industry of his labour. The *History of the Ancient Parish of Birstall* is not only a history of the parish church, but of its vicars, for the English parochial tradition has been fashioned largely by its parochial clergy ; and of the character and achievement of the type of scholarly, unobtrusive, and restrained parish priests Mr. Cradock's volume is perhaps one of the best examples. Happy is the church with so noble a history and with such an erudite clergy to record its local traditions and peculiarities.

N.S.

The Gospels. A Short Introduction. By VINCENT TAYLOR, Ph.D., D.D. (The Epworth Press). 2s. 6d.

THIS admirable little book, first published three years ago, has now reached a second Edition. It is invaluable as an introduction to the critical study of the Gospels, both for theological students and other intelligent readers. As far as we know, there is no book which gives so much information in so short a space ; and lucidity is not sacrificed to conciseness. The author himself is sane and balanced in his considerations and conclusions, and most judicious in his selection of what is of permanent value in the work of the *Formgeschichtliche* school. We hope that theological tutors will widely recommend this book to their pupils : and a word of praise is due to the publishers for issuing it at so moderate a price.

H.B.

God at Work. By William Adams Brown, Ph.D., D.D. (Student Christian Movement Press). 6s.

THE author of this book states that its purpose is "a reinterpretation of the supernatural factor in religion, not from the abstract and theoretical viewpoint . . . but in its bearing upon the personal religious life." He seeks in fact to justify and analyse the phenomenon of religious experience. He points out that to-day the question of personal religion is by no means an academic one. Such phenomena as the Barthian theological school, the Anglo-Catholic Revival, the Group Movement, and the work of the Japanese mystic Kagawa, are evidence that, from very different quarters and in very different fashions, striking claims are being made that man can possess direct and immediate contact with the Divine. The author describes the life of faith, the character of the God revealed by faith, and saintliness as the goal of faith. He has much to say concerning the relation between religion and science, and maintains that the necessity of miracle, as an indispensable factor in religion, need not point to any conflict with science. His view of miracle is akin to the Johannine conception ; a miracle is primarily a "sign," an evidence of God's direct working in the world. It must contain an element which cannot be subjected to calculation or analysis, the element which creates faith ; but this element need not consist in the contradiction of known physical laws. In the figure of Jesus, Dr. Brown sees the "miracle of miracles."

The English reader will see several clear indications of the limitations of Dr. Brown's analysis of the religious experience. At Yale University Dr. Brown is familiar with revivalistic methods in the religious life of his students, and the "twice-born" Christian is for him the normal, the "once-born" the abnormal type. Those

religious characters whom William James describes as the "healthy-minded" are for him "people" whom "one occasionally meets." This will come as a surprise to most members of the Student Christian Movement in English universities, where the "twice-born" are the exception and not the rule, and where revivalistic methods have so little influence that in both Oxford and Cambridge the Group Movement can only maintain a very precarious foothold. Yet in spite of the author's familiarity with the "twice-born," the process of conversion which he describes consists rather in sudden illumination than a sense of deliverance from sin. It is noteworthy that the subject "sin" does not occur in the index, and that the problem of evil is discussed (in contrast to the author's general method) as a theoretical rather than a personal question.

A more serious criticism is merited by the vagueness of the author's Christology. When he states, "To the man of faith, Jesus is God's word to man spoken through man . . . In Jesus faith recognizes God at work—incarnate for our salvation," he appears orthodox enough. But when we find that he also states, "In him we see God at work, incarnating in a *human personality* those qualities which appeal to us as most divine," (*italics ours*), we are at a loss to know whether he is veiling a liberal Christology beneath orthodox terminology, or whether his thought on the person of Christ is simply thoroughly muddled.

Lastly we note that a reviewer, quoted in an advertisement of one of the author's former works, speaks of his "real understanding of other minds and convictions." Dr Brown certainly treats the views and practice of Catholics with abundant sympathy and kindness; but we doubt if he really understands them. In his view the Catholic saint is a contemplative—and, it is implied, little more—while "the Protestant saint is a man of action." We rather think that the author has the character of St. Therese of Lisieux uppermost in his mind; and he is certainly appreciative of such a type of sanctity. But the Catholic saint and the Catholic contemplative is frequently as much a "man of action" as any Protestant, as the author recognises in the case of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Teresa of Avila, and as he might find from the life of the Cure of Ars or Dom Bosco; while Protestantism can claim its mystics in John Bunyan or in the Quaker tradition. Again he deprecates the fact that "Catholics, Roman and Anglican, often attribute to the sacraments a divine efficacy independent of the character of the ministrant," (the view upheld for Anglicans in the 26th Article of Religion). Does he seriously maintain that the efficacy of the act of Holy Communion is increased or lessened by the degree of sanctity which the celebrating priest possesses?

There is much of value in this book, but the thought is at times somewhat lacking in depth. The author will probably not object

to the criticism that he excels in dealing with practical rather than theoretical matters. The footnotes on pp. 176 and 231 are among the most charitable, yet judicious, criticisms of the Group Movement which we have read.

H.B.

Latin in Church. Episodes in the History of its Pronunciation, particularly in England. By F. BRITTAI. (Cambridge University Press). 3s. 6d.

THE pronunciation of ecclesiastical Latin may appear to some a dull, to others, a trivial subject. Mr. Brittain has rendered it fascinating, and has succeeded in imparting his erudition in an extremely racy and scintillating manner. The subject cannot be said to be a purely academic one, even for Anglicans, of whom the author appears to be one. Certain Anglican college chapels and cathedrals habitually make use of Latin hymns, anthems and carols; and these reach the ears, not only of their own congregations but frequently also of the broadcasting public.

The author makes a strong plea for the abolition of the modern Italian ecclesiastical pronunciation. He points out that it certainly bears no resemblance to the English pre-Reformation pronunciation of Latin—on which the general reader will find evidence in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*—and was only introduced among English Roman Catholics in the nineteenth century through the influence of converts of the type of F. W. Faber. Moreover its introduction was stoutly resisted by hereditary Roman Catholics, who ridiculed the “chees and chaws” which grated on English ears. Nevertheless this pronunciation is now practically universal in English Roman Catholic churches, and is frequently heard in Anglican cathedrals and college chapels.

The author, we are glad to say, does not wish this fault to be remedied by the adoption of the rather arbitrary reformed classical pronunciation as taught in schools. Almost all the objections which can be raised against the Italianized pronunciation can also be raised against this monstrous child of the pedagogues. “Kikero” is at least as ugly as “Chichero,” and it seems impossible to believe that any nation ever pronounced such a sound as “wolwo.” Moreover the invariably hard *c* which is prescribed obscures those Latin words which possess familiar English derivatives; when we say “crucifix,” it seems as ridiculous to say “crukifixus” as “cruchifixus.” Lastly, the pronunciation of the diphthong *æ* as the *i* in pile, removes many of the rhymes in Latin hymns.

Mr. Brittain’s suggestion is that we should use the normal English pronunciation of consonants giving modified Continental

sounds to the vowels. In this connexion we would plead for the adoption of the German Catholic ecclesiastical pronunciation, (wherein the *c* before *e* or *i* is sibilant, not aspirated), which has the clearest and most pleasing sound in English ears of any that we have heard. So clear is it, that anyone "learned in the Latin tongue" can appreciate local German liturgical "disloyalties"; such as the practice by which the choir habitually contents itself with singing only one half of the Creed and Gloria at a Sung Mass, and the reduction of Vespers to "shortened Evensong" by the singing only of the Antiphon, first verse, Gloria and Antiphon to each of the five psalms. We suggest that this pronunciation is the most easy for English choirs to sing euphoniously, in days when choirboys, and perhaps some of the cathedral clergy, are no longer "learned in the Latin tongue." This last defect unfortunately renders impossible or undesirable the growth of a distinctive Anglican pronunciation of Latin which might harmonize with the recent introduction into several of our Cathedrals of the English Use. Such distinctive pronunciation has in fact grown up, where the classical tradition has not been lost. In many Latin public school hymns and songs (for instance the Wykehamist *Domum*) an arbitrary, but not the less pleasing blend of the old and new classroom pronunciations has become stereotyped.

We recommend this book warmly even to those who feel uninterested in its theme. The references to the sixteenth century and to the Fabresque school of papists are most amusing reading. We suggest that it will make an excellent bedbook for tired prelates and theologians; and a cheap but useful Christmas present for precentors and others "in choirs and places where they sing."

H.B.

The Church and the Ministry of Healing: Essays by BISHOP HOUGH and others. Edited by T. W. CRAFER, D.D. (S.P.C.K.). 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.

IN most important matters of Christian faith and practice the guidance of the Holy Spirit through the *consensus fidelium* has made it clear what we ought to believe and how we ought to act. There are some such matters however about which no certainty is likely to be reached within the life-time of this generation. Christians must use every faculty which God has given them in trying to arrive at the truth, but it is for future generations to see that truth authoritatively emerging. Opinions about Spiritual Healing held by those whose judgment deserves respect vary from those of the late Mr. Hickson (a contributor to the volume under review) to those of the Bishop of Durham. The present reviewer has

read many dozens of books on this subject ; and his opinion is that too few really scholarly writers have given their attention to it. The books are frequently sentimental, pietistic and lacking in theological accuracy. The book before us is slight, and the contributions to it vary in usefulness, some of them being apparently the work of amateurs. Two of the writers quote words from the ending of St. Mark's Gospel, implying that they are the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord. Another states that our Lord "could do no healing work at Nazareth," referring to Mk. vi, 5, where in fact we are told that "he laid his hands on a few sick folk, and healed them." The essays by a country rector (Mr. Frewer of Brede) and a missionary bishop (Dr. Pakenham-Walsh) are of interest, the former as describing the actual work of dealing with the sick as it takes place on a wide scale in the writer's parish, the latter as recording striking instances of healing in the mission field. But the only pages of importance in the volume are those by Dr. Harris (on Exorcism), supplementing his extremely valuable contribution to "Liturgy and Worship." After reading Dr. Harris' works, it would be hard still to question the genuineness of the phenomena of demonic possession. Dr. Harris' essay is not without comic relief, as when he tells us that "some patients find it useful . . . to do a little 'mimic' boxing. The imaginary object of attack is the evil 'obsession' or bad habit, which they effect to buffet with all their might." Otherwise the papers in this book are pedestrian or platitudinous.

F.H.

Nearing Harbour. The Log of Sir Henry S. Lunn. (London : Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1934). Price 10s. 6d.

By his wide sympathy and vast generosity, Sir Henry Lunn has won a very large circle of friends in the Christian Churches, and hence this volume of reminiscences is assured of an extensive welcome. Sir Henry's readiness in decision, his untiring energy, his refusal to be impeded by obstacles, his relish in meeting the great, his enthusiasm to make money with the sole purpose that he may have the more to give away, his delight in being able to address a luncheon party in New York in only five days after leaving England—such traits Sir Henry Lunn possesses to an extent which might make even some of our friends across the Atlantic emulous. The volume brings out clearly how great has been the author's influence upon the movement for reunion. If the long series of discussions in Switzerland—at Grindelwald, at Mürren, and at Lausanne—have as yet not achieved their final object, they have at least been a permanent influence in the creation of a better temper. The book is crammed with interesting anec-

dotes ; indeed we suspect Sir Henry Lunn is constitutionally incapable of being dull. Even the pedantically minded will readily forgive the occasional slips in matters of detail.

F.L.C.

An Oxonian Looks Back. By LEWIS R. FARNELL, D.Litt., F.B.A. (London : Martin Hopkinson. 1934). Price 16s.

THIS interesting, detailed, and exquisitely written memoir will delight all Oxford men into whose hands it falls, and, indeed, many others besides. It is the record of a life lived with great enthusiasm and zest by one who combined the interests of a student with an unusual love of adventure. Farnell possessed also a deep love of nature, and not the least entrancing part of the volume are the records of his travels. His researches into Greek Sculpture took him all over Europe ; and it is evident that the author derived almost as much pleasure from the travels as from the studies. Having published *in extenso* elsewhere the results of his Classical investigations, Farnell in this memoir deals chiefly with his other interests.

Farnell will long hold a unique place in the annals of the Vice-Chancellorship of Oxford. When he entered upon his office in the Michaelmas Term of 1920, the University was in a highly abnormal condition. The colleges were still crowded with large numbers of ex-Service men and the total number of undergraduates in residence was far too great to be permanent. Farnell, who realised that during his period of office the University would have to return to its normal state, was determined to use the peculiar opportunities of this unsettled period for the inauguration of a number of what he believed to be necessary reforms. The reins of discipline were to be tightened. No undergraduate was to be allowed to continue at Oxford who did not regard it primarily as a place of learning. In order to enforce this ideal, Farnell took up a strong line, and his activities became the subject of furious attacks in the popular press. In Oxford itself, some of his methods did not go uncriticised.

Though only a relatively small part of the volume deals with this part of Farnell's career, much of the book is of interest in that it explains how Farnell was led to take up the line he did. He made high demands of others only because he made high demands of himself. Moreover, he had begun his long career at Oxford at a time when the cleavage between the ideals of the Colleges and those of the University was much deeper than it has now become ; and though Farnell never himself held a "University" appointment (he only just missed a Professorship at one point in his career), and though he never flagged in his devotion

to Exeter of which he was Rector from 1913 to 1928, he always stood firmly for the "University" ideal. His Vice-Chancellorship gave him for the first time an opportunity for exercising an effective influence upon the University. Farnell accordingly determined to make fuller use of the powers which in virtue of his office he could undoubtedly claim than most of his recent predecessors had done. To have acted as a mere chairman of committees would have been a betrayal of what he believed to be the responsibilities of his office.

What is likely to be one of Farnell's most permanent achievements at Oxford is the part he took in the establishment of a department of Classical Archaeology and Art. It was to the joint labours of Farnell and Percy Gardner that we owe the establishment of this rapidly expanding branch of study in the University on a permanent basis.

F.L.C.

Ekklesia. Eine Sammlung von Selbstdarstellungen der Christlichen Kirchen. Herausgegeben von F. SIEGMUND-SCHULTZE. I. Die Britischen Länder. I. Die Kirche von England. (Gotha, Leopold Klotz Verlag, 1934). *Unbound, 6 marks (in subscription for the whole work, 4 marks).*

THIS is the first instalment of a work which is planned to run to fifty times the size of the present section. The completed *opus* is to give a conspectus of the whole of Christianity as it exists to-day, especially from the point of view of the Reunion (or, as the Germans term it, the "Ecumenical") Movement. That the editor should have given pride of place to *Ecclesia Anglicana* is a tribute to the possibilities of our own communion in the work of reunion. "There is no church," he writes, "which is better fitted than the Church of England, both from its very nature and its external structure, to form a bridge between the confessions." (p. 3).

It is part of the plan that each confession is to be described by one or more of its own members. Most of the present instalment consists of a German translation of the small work on *The Church of England* by the Bishop of Chichester (Dr. G. K. A. Bell), published by the S.C.M. some little time ago. This very lucid and succinct account of the Church of England is admirably suited for the present purpose. Perhaps a little too much space is occupied by details of external organisation and finance. Thus *Königin Annas Bounty* occupies nearly a whole page; *Archidiacone* have almost as much; and even the *Kreis-Dekane* (Have our rural-deans ever worn a German dress before?) have half a page. The peculiar genius and quality of the Anglican *ethos* thus re-

ceive relatively little attention. It must be admitted, however, that they could hardly have been treated with that admirable objectivity which characterises the work as it now stands.

The Bishop of Chichester's contribution is supplemented by two useful essays by the Rev. Philip Usher and Canon A. W. Davies respectively. Mr. Usher deals with the present state of Anglican theology. He traces its history from the publication of *Lux Mundi*, because *Charles Gore darf mit Recht der Vater der modernen englischen Theologie genannt werden* (p. 105). Canon Davies treats of foreign missions.

If subsequent instalments of *Ekklesia* are as informative and as careful as that before us, they will make a work of great value.

F.L.C.

Come, Holy Spirit. Sermons by KARL BARTH and EDUARD THURNEYSSEN. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1934). Printed in U.S.A. Price in Great Britain, 6s.

THIS volume contains twenty-five Sermons by the orthodox "remnant" of the Dialectical School. The translators in their Preface inform us that the sequence of the sermons is "not logical, nor biological, but theological, Christological, soteriological" (p. vi). We are unable to comprehend what this assertion means. Hitherto we have never met with (or at any rate, never noticed) a set of sermons arranged in biological sequence. Of the unique character of the collection which they offer us, the translators have no doubts. The Sermons, they tell us, "cannot be easily comprehended, because they are so different in form and content from any sermons that have ever been published in this or any other age." We tremble indeed to think of the researches which must lie behind this expression of opinion.

For our own part, the Sermons do not impress us as very remarkable. They are more concerned to point out the evils of the human heart than with offering positive advice towards correcting them. They are addressed solely to those who have already learnt what the Christian gospel is ; for those outside the church they have no help to offer. Even for those within, their chief message seems to be to encourage them to distrust what they already possess.

Perhaps we may be allowed to point out to the translators that the plural of the German word *Frage* is *Fragen*.

F.L.C.

PERIODICALS.

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